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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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SUBJECTIVE FACTORS IN MATE SELECTION AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

DONALD P. KENT

University of Connecticut

I

Many theories have been advanced "explaining" why individuals select the mates they do or why they desire certain characteristics in their "ideal mate." Popular folk wisdom has it that opposites attract. Less popular but more demonstrable is the contention that likes attract. The Freudians bring forth the Oedipus complex and say that many are seeking mates resembling the parent of the opposite sex. Still others, the Freudians tell us, are seeking mates having characteristics quite dissimilar from those possessed by the parent of the opposite sex if this parent-child relationship has been unpleasant.

Actually, the Oedipus view and the observed fact of an assortative mating tendency may possibly be harmonized. If man A marries woman B and we find that A and B are alike in many respects, there is also the strong possibility that the mother of A is somewhat like B, since A undoubtedly possesses many attributes of his mother. Thus in A's attempt, which of course may be quite unconscious, to find someone like his mother he unwittingly finds someone like himself in many characteristics. This process may well account for much assortative mating.

Any consideration of the Oedipus influence in mate selection must allow for several complicating factors. For example, it is quite possible for an individual to have a mental image of his mother that may be far removed from objective reality; yet it would be this mental picture rather than objective reality that would be the guiding factor in his mate selection if he were motivated by an Oedipus attachment. The observer would be misled were he only to look at objective reality and ignore the subjective interpretation of reality. Man A may admire his mother for her civic-mindedness. Actually, she may not be the least bit civic minded; but, as far as the son is concerned, she is. For the person

holding an image, no matter how far removed from objective reality it may be, that image is reality and he will act as if it were true.

A further complication is the fact that one not only can imagine traits to exist where they do not but also may endow his mate with these same traits by the same process of idealization. The latter practice may be less frequent than the former, however, since mate selection comes in maturity and since, at least in the initial stages of selection, the personal distance may permit a degree more of objectivity. It is common, however, to find persons seeing in their spouses virtues or faults which are completely hidden to outside observers and which may not exist apart from the mind of the spouse making the judgment. These subjective elements continually enter into mate selection and are frequently overlooked in the literature. This lack of attention may in part be due to the great difficulty in ascertaining the nature of these subjective evaluations.

Still another factor that must be considered is that of primacy and intensity of the images held. Each male has many impressions of his mother. One picture may have been impressed upon him as a child, another at the time of adolescence, and still another during a particular crisis situation, and so on. Nor will all of these be of the same intensity; some will be very vivid, others barely memorable. If an Oedipus attachment is operating as a factor in mate selection, its manifestations may not be perceived by viewing the mother as she now is or even was at the time of the mate selection, but rather by viewing the male's image of the mother as he *imagines* she was and the mate as he *thinks* she is.

This study was made as an exploratory one in the hope of indicating possible avenues of further research in validating or invalidating some of the current hypotheses regarding the Oedipus complex influence in mate selection, taking cognizance of the subjective elements mentioned above.

II

At a large city college each of fifty-two male students of the sophomore level and over was asked to write a description of his mother as he mentally pictured her. It was emphasized that a mental image was wanted, and the student was told that this mental image need not necessarily be a precise description of his mother as she was. He was urged to sit back, relax, think of mother, and then to record his picture. At the same time, each student had before him a list of traits to serve

as a guide in writing his description; it was emphasized, however, that these were merely suggested traits to be described and need not appear in the written response, nor were the descriptions to be confined to the suggested traits. Only those traits that appeared in the mental image were wanted. The guide centered about physical characteristics, mental and personality traits, and homemaking qualities. A personal appraisal of the qualities of the mother was also requested. That is, these students were to note which of the traits they liked and which they disliked. They were assured that their replies would be kept confidential, and the frankness of most replies indicated that they were aware of this. At the time the students gave the information the reasons for requesting it were not indicated.

After an interval of six weeks these same students were asked to list the traits they wanted in their wives. They were also asked to rank these traits in order of importance to them in selecting a mate. It was indicated that they could describe here their "ideal," even though they might be willing to settle for something less than the "ideal." It was hoped that the interval of time between the writings was sufficiently long to keep the students from seeing any connection between the two requests. The second request seemed quite logical to the students, since it preceded a discussion of mate selection in a family relations course.

After the completion of both accounts, the students were told the purpose for which they had been collected. It is interesting that only one student had surmised the reason for the requests and associated the two writings. The accounts of each student were then paired and analyzed.

III

If we consider the six traits listed by each student as most important to him in selecting a mate, we find that at least one of these six was supposedly possessed by the male's mother in 47 of the 52 cases. In 10 of the cases the mother and the desired wife have only one trait in common; two traits are held in common by 24 cases; three traits are mutually held by mate and mother in 9 cases; four traits out of the first six in 3 cases; and in 1 case five of the first six traits desired in a wife are purportedly existing in the mother.

TABLE 1
 NUMBER OF TRAITS HELD IN COMMON BY MOTHER
 AND THE DESIRED MATE, CONSIDERING ONLY THE
 FIRST SIX TRAITS DESIRED IN THE FUTURE MATE

Number of traits held commonly	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number listing	5	10	24	9	3	1	0

Actually, the similarity between the picture of the desired mate and the picture of the mother may be more striking than this would indicate for two reasons: (1) This notes only the six top-ranking traits desired in a wife. In the full list of traits, only two students fail to mention at least one trait wanted in a wife that is not allegedly possessed by mother. It is interesting to note that each of these two students indicated a strong dislike of and hostility toward his mother. (2) Many traits are wanted in a wife which ordinarily would not be mentioned in any picture of a mother, since incestuous thoughts are banished from consciousness. Thus we find 40 of the 52 students desiring "physical attractiveness" in their mates; 9 demand "good figures," and 17 want a girl who is "sexually satisfying." Such traits probably would not be mentioned in a description of the mother. In the main, the pictures of mother centered around mental and personality characteristics, and the reader can sense a certain reluctance to dwell upon mother's physical qualities.

The influence of the image of mother in mate selection perhaps may be seen from noting the ranking of traits desired in a mate. In over half of the cases (27) the trait ranked as number 1 in importance in the wife (and in several instances mentioned as an indispensable one) is one found in the picture of mother. Thirty-nine of the students listed among the first three traits desired in a wife one or more traits purportedly characteristic of mother. While 13 students listed in the number 1 position a trait not found in the description of mother, only 3 noted traits other than beauty, figure, or sexual attractiveness. And 2 of these 3 in their appraisal of mother had manifested an open dislike toward the maternal parent.

There were 12 cases in which one or more of the first six traits desired in a wife were opposite to traits possessed by mother. Of these 12, 9 listed one opposite trait, 2 noted two opposing traits, and 1 student noted three. Once again those listing the most traits in opposition to mother were the 2 having hostile feelings toward her.

The traits most liked in mother are varied and are noted below in the order of frequency of mention:

Characteristics Liked	Frequency Mentioned
Interest in and love of family.....	18
Interest in and love of children.....	12
Good homemaker.....	8
Generous.....	7
Cheerful.....	5
Kind.....	5
Good at raising children.....	4
Companionable.....	4
Attractive.....	4
Fine intellect.....	4
Good manager.....	4

In addition, 3 frequencies each were recorded for the following characteristics: devoted to father, broad interests outside home, energetic, friendly, courageous, religious; 2 frequencies each for sincere, understanding, dependable; and 1 frequency each for high moral standards and well educated.

Except for the mention of physical attractiveness by 4 students, all the traits liked are mental or personality traits. This does not mean that physical attractiveness was not frequently mentioned in the descriptions. With few exceptions, the students thought mother to be "neat," "a careful dresser," or "beautiful"; however, in making an appraisal of those traits which stood out in their minds or those that they liked most, those noted above were the ones listed.

The traits disliked in mother are also varied and again are listed in order of frequency of mention:

Characteristics Disliked	Frequency Mentioned
Oversolicitous—interferes.....	10
Nervous.....	4
Too emotional.....	3

In addition, 2 frequencies each were recorded for the following characteristics: taste in girls, temper, too thrifty, poor cooking, gossips, constant complaining, lack of community interests, lack of intellectual interests, too moody; 1 frequency each for attitude toward birth control, argumentative, loud voice, too interested in appearance, would not pun-

ish children, too strict, never complimented me, too interested in relatives, lack of understanding.

Few found much fault with mother, and 19 replied that they could think of nothing at all that they disliked about her. If a shortcoming is mentioned it is usually a very minor one that seems to be listed because they seem a bit hesitant to say that the perfect human exists. Then again the fault is often excused or justified, as in the following examples:

I dislike her complete lack of understanding toward my grandmother, although I understand it because they are as different as night and day.

In my opinion, Mother is too enthusiastic about the interests of home and family and somewhat neglects a normal social life. But her exactness and wholehearted devotion toward us and the household more than overshadow the less important fault.

She gossips, not to extreme, but nevertheless she is a gossip. However, I suppose this is understandable.

Frequently after criticizing mother the student would hasten to add a sentence indicating that this criticism did not mean lack of affection on his part:

I don't like her too great interest in my affairs, but I realize that this is only natural. In a way I deem it a desirable trait and love her the more for it.

Those features I dislike center around what I like to call the "damn Dutch" in her. Those characteristics are stubbornness, set in her ways, strong will, her refusal to give in when it is often in her best interests. Thus you have my mother whom, nevertheless, I have and always will love very, very much. She has no interest in community affairs, but nothing wrong with Mother though.

Some few criticized in a quite different manner. One writes:

It has only been during the past few years that I have realized what a handicap my Mother has been to my life. This probably sounds like an unkind thing to say but it is true. I suffer from over love. Mother is the type of person who is blinded by her love for a person, and that person is me—not my father! I think then of my Mother as someone unhappily married and ill-adjusted to life. For compensation she showered all of her affection upon me from early childhood. She was an only child, but I was not. Her greatest fear in life is losing me. She realizes that I will marry some day and dreads that day to come. I cannot think of my Mother in any other light than that of a person who has never known true marital happiness. For a time material possessions filled the gap in her life. She was always young looking and attractive until her late forties and has aged gracefully. She worries over little things and has difficulty making up her mind as she has always had other people to make her decisions for her—even that of marriage as she had to choose between two suitors and her father practically made the choice. The most unkind thing I could do would be to tell her what a great handicap her devotion to me has been. She could never take it. I love her with a great pitying love.

This individual lists as the traits desired in a wife the following given in order of their importance to him: Christian faith, fidelity, sense of humor (personality), generosity, thriftiness, figure that doesn't gain weight.

Listed below are the traits most frequently desired in a wife:

Characteristic Desired	Frequency Mentioned
Physical attractiveness.....	40
Intelligence.....	28
Sexually satisfying.....	17
Good housekeeper.....	17
Sociable.....	14
Understanding.....	14
Good cook.....	13
Well educated.....	11
Good dresser.....	11
Faithful.....	11
Like interests.....	11
Good mother.....	10
Good figure.....	9
Good manager.....	9
Good family background.....	6
Religious.....	5
Sincere.....	4
Same religion.....	4
Home loving.....	3
Willing to sacrifice.....	3

IV

Since the sample studied is neither representative of the total population nor sufficiently large in number, any conclusions drawn are of the most tentative nature and something of a "scientific guess." The study was designed as an exploratory one seeking light on the subjective elements in mate selection. No pretense is made that it is definitive. The writer makes no claim that the method used is valid or even strikes to the heart of the problem, but it is his contention that the subjective factors described in Section I may be of great significance and have frequently been overlooked. Although the probing of these subjective elements does not yield their secrets easily, the writer would "guess" from the study that the following observations have some basis in fact.

1. The male's feelings toward his mother frequently tend to be idealized, and any discordant elements are either repressed or blocked from entering his mental image of her; however, the ambivalent feelings so often noted in regard to loved objects are present in feelings toward mother, though they appear infrequently and often in a somewhat disguised form.

2. Mental and personality traits predominate in determining the male's attitude toward his mother. In mate selection these same traits are important but are coupled with physical qualities in most instances.

3. A concern for religion in most cases plays a very minor role either in shaping attitudes toward mother or in selecting a mate.

4. Homemaking traits, while more often noted than religious traits, also would seem to play a very small part in mate selection.

5. In the case of many males there seems to be a feeling of insecurity and fear of losing the mate once selected. Thirty-three out of the fifty-two in the study specifically desire some trait that might be associated with feelings of insecurity such as wanting a "faithful wife," "a trusting and sincere wife," "a truthful and understanding one," "one who will always love me," etc.

6. The males in this study would seem self-centered. A reading of the reports gives one the impression that the boys love "mom" because she waits upon them, and that they are looking for a wife to do the same. A glance at the list of traits desired in a wife indicates that the boys are often looking for a helpmate in the literal sense.

7. There would seem to be some evidence to support the claim that the male's *image* of his mother is of some importance as a factor in mate selection. There would seem to be a need for additional studies examining the subjective elements in the process using more refined techniques and covering a more adequate sample.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE COOPERATIVE AND LABOR MOVEMENTS

ARTHUR HILLMAN
Roosevelt College

When two social movements have developed during the same historical period, as different forms of response to similar problems in a nation, there arises a question as to their interrelationships. Have they reinforced each other's growth, or are the rise and flourishing of the movements simply a parallel growth from the same soil? An answer in particular cases involves questions of ideology and also of interlocking leadership and membership. Some of these factors will be explored in the relations between the cooperative and labor movements, with special reference to Norway.¹ The data and approach are largely historical and of some special interest to American adherents of the movements involved, but the presentation is possibly useful in the general understanding of social movements and institutions.

As Americans look at the countries where both cooperatives and labor unions are strong, they may conclude offhand that the movements are closely linked in their development. This conjecture is supported by the mutual expressions of support that have been regularly endorsed by national labor and consumer cooperative organizations in the United States, and the tendencies in both toward identification with "liberal" political thought.² The recognition that the British cooperatives have been aligned with the Labor party is offset by the evidence of strict political neutrality in Sweden and Norway, but the American observer may readily suppose that, with governments in these countries strongly supported by organized labor, the cooperatives represent special forms of the democratic and perhaps of the socialistic aims of these parties. The moderate socialism of the dominant parties in the Scandinavian countries and of the supporting labor unions and the gradualist radicalism of the cooperative principles seem consistent and tend to get lumped together as part of a "middle way" development. This is altogether plausible, but a closer acquaintance with historical developments and organizational relationships reveals the dangers of oversimplification.

¹ Dagfinn Sivertsen, sociology student, University of Oslo, assisted in the assembly of source materials while the writer was in Norway under a Fulbright research grant.

² This seems to be true despite the principle of political neutrality and the antistatism emphasis of Dr. James P. Warbasse and others.

In the last part of the nineteenth century, socialist interest was expressed in producers' cooperatives, as part of the emphasis on socializing the means of production. Karl Marx had not advocated consumer organization, and the principal problem he saw was the exploitation of man as producer. Following this line of thought, the German Socialists influenced the Scandinavian.³ The organization of consumers for mutual service seemed to many a distraction from the essential class conflict, and the principle of open membership in cooperatives was particularly suspect as a threat to the solidarity of workers.⁴

The cooperatives, as they were developing at the turn of the century, subscribed to the principle of religious and political neutrality in large part because it was felt that any kind of factionalism would be organizationally disruptive. There arose in some quarters a special fear of dominance by socialists, which was expressed in debates in the national cooperative organization⁵ in Norway in the years 1910-15. The issue was sharp because some local units were dominated by urban workers with socialist ideology, while other strongholds of cooperation were composed of politically conservative farmers. The socialists endorsed the principle of political neutrality but at the same time felt that the cooperative organs had a special relationship to their movement. A Scandinavian labor congress in 1907 was a turning point in the recognition by socialists that cooperatives, instead of being regarded with hostility or with indifference, should be looked upon as a tool in the economic emancipation of workers.⁶

Thus an accommodation developed between these two movements early in the present century, again with particular reference to Norway. Organized workers came to recognize that co-ops were needed to safeguard gains made in wages.⁷ Socialist leaders were also realizing that reaching the goal of public ownership or control of the means of produc-

³ Carl Bonnevie, *Kommunal Socialisme og Kooperation* (Kristiania: DNA Forlag, 1914), p. 82.

⁴ Anders Örne, "Organiserat Samarbete Mellan Cooperationen och Fackföreningsrörelsen," *Tiden*, Stockholm, 1912, pp. 303-04.

⁵ Norges Kooperative Landsforening. The present secretary, Peder Söiland, has been helpful in discussing with the writer some of the points included in this paper and in making materials available.

⁶ Ragnar Försund, *Samvirke og Samfunn* (Oslo: NKL, 1949), pp. 48-49, and annual report of national labor organization, 1910 (see footnote 10 for exact name). In Finland there are two nation-wide cooperative organizations, distinguished essentially in that one is strictly neutral politically and has more rural membership and the other is politically oriented to the Social Democratic party.

⁷ Örne, *op. cit.*; Inge Debes, *Forbrukerkooperasjonens Historie i Norge* (Oslo: NKL, 1936), 2:141-45.

tion would be a slow and difficult process and it was thought that consumer organization might well be a road to the achievement of the same purpose in a different form.⁸ From the cooperatives' side, labor unions came to be thought of as a channel for promotion and expansion, with the growth of cities and industries. The fears that had been entertained that urban socialist workers would dominate the co-op organization came at times to be turned into lament at their lack of interest.⁹

The mutual understanding that developed between the two movements in Norway was expressed in certain joint activities. The relationships were closer at times and marked by minor crises on occasion. Beginning in 1910, the national labor organization, commonly known as LO,¹⁰ had a committee for propaganda or promotion of co-ops which had modest financial support.¹¹ This committee reported regularly to the general meetings of LO until 1925, and in the 1920's there were indications that local unions were expected to take on the job of co-op propaganda.¹² When, in the work of this committee, co-ops were defined as a means of "socialization," fears were revived among conservatives.¹³ In 1915 A. Juell, a labor man, was elected secretary of NKL, and in 1919 he became its president. This was a period when the labor or socialist influence was strong in the cooperative movement and it followed discussions of the basis of collaboration in both LO and NKL, particularly in 1913 and 1914.¹⁴ In these discussions there was acceptance not only of the principle of political neutrality but also of mutual support when co-ops were boycotted or when unions were engaged in a campaign.

There was discussion in labor circles of the use of co-ops for relief purposes during strikes, following a German pattern.¹⁵ A syndicalist faction of LO thought of co-ops as tools that could be used in industrial conflict. However, the prevailing opinion seemed to be that relief functions should be the direct responsibility of unions.¹⁶ There were questions and specific complaints from unions that co-ops in certain places were not according unions the rights of organization and bargaining.

⁸ Bonnevie, *Kooperationen og Socialdemokratiet*, Det Norske Arbeiderparti: Socialistiske Smaaskrifter XIII, Kristiania, 1909.

⁹ Debes, *op. cit.*, 2:222.

¹⁰ LO is the short form for Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjon.

¹¹ Gunnar Ousland, *Fagorganisasjonen i Norge* (Oslo: AFL, 1949), 1:452-54.

¹² LO reports.

¹³ Debes, *op. cit.*, 2:196.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, particularly pp. 206-07 and 210.

¹⁵ Bonnevie, *Fagforeningerne og Kooperationen*, AFL, Smaaskrifter, Kooperative Utvalg, nr. 1, Kristiania, 1910.

¹⁶ Ousland, *op. cit.*, 1:454; 2:152.

In some cases joint committees were formed to mediate in disputes.¹⁷

Among joint activities can be noted the insurance company Samvirke, founded in 1921 with both labor and co-op capital. There was concern about price regulation during World War I, and LO suggested joint action for consumer protection on the part of co-ops, unions, and the Labor party. This suggests that political neutrality of co-ops does not mean inaction on specific public issues.¹⁸ New expressions from the labor side of the desire for closer collaboration between the Labor party, LO, and NKL, in the early 1930's, again brought forth objections from cooperators and fears of being too closely identified with a political party. Because of this standpoint NKL did not join the workers' education organization, AOF,¹⁹ formed in 1931. NKL, however, is one of the supporting organizations of Norsk Folkeferie, a people's vacation and travel organization, founded with strong labor support in 1939.²⁰

The co-ops in recent years have reaffirmed political neutrality, while also striving to maintain congenial relations with organized labor. This sometimes results in a "tight-rope walking" position for co-op national leaders, and it can be accounted for by the occupational distribution of members. A 1946 membership analysis in Norway reveals that 34.6 per cent of the 239,854 members are engaged in agriculture, mostly as independent farmers. The next largest group of workers is in industry, 21 per cent, and with other occupations, which are largely urban, a rough balance of strength between farm and city workers is evident.²¹ The most recent and dramatic example of conflict, which can be understood in the light of the historical development which has been sketched as well as of the membership composition, occurred in close contests for the presidency of NKL in recent years.

In 1946 the president, Juell, who had served since 1919, was past the age of 70. The majority of the nominating committee proposed Lars Evensen, who was then minister of commerce in the national government, while a minority favored the re-election of the incumbent. The discussion that followed dealt with the advantages and handicaps of age and long service, as well as other qualifications of these candidates. References to the Oslo point of view, as set off from that of the rest

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:70, 324.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:355.

¹⁹ Arbeidernes Opplysnings Forbund. In Sweden the corresponding organization, Arbetarnas Bildnings Förbund, is organized on a broad basis, with the Swedish LO and Kooperativa Förbundet included as members but also carrying on educational activities of their own.

²⁰ Ousland, *op. cit.*, 2:446-48; 3:233, 252.

²¹ NKL, *Samvirkelagene og Innkjøpslagene 1946*, Oslo, 1947, p. 13.

of the country, and of labor's interests and potential support being involved in the choice, pointed to the identification of Evensen with urban workers. This renewed the old fears of rural conservatives. The election was close, with 351 votes re-electing Juell for two years, Evensen receiving 335, and 3 going to another candidate.²²

This was the prelude to another spirited discussion in 1948, when Sverre Nilssen, director of the cooperative school, was elected president to succeed Juell. Nilssen received strong support from farmers' strongholds, and his 468 votes were closely followed by 434 for Oscar Torp, a Labor party member of Parliament. In the discussion of the candidates, it was strongly suggested that voting for Torp would result in a more favorable position for cooperatives in the matter of import quotas and other restrictions which are enforced as a part of national planning. This sort of argument was regarded as a threat to the principle of political neutrality by some of those who favored Nilssen, and the thought was also expressed that cooperators do not seek a specially favored position in dealing with the government.²³ It should be noted, however, that Torp himself in a discussion in 1946 had presented arguments for controls used in economic planning and the necessity for cooperators to accept a position of equal treatment with other business enterprises.²⁴

The references to the position of cooperatives under a planned economic system reveal a new postwar phase of the problem of relationships between cooperatives and labor. Labor governments have a problem of balancing the general national welfare against the interests of special groups, indeed, those of their own special union constituencies as well as of cooperatives. Should a labor government in its administrative relationships seek to maintain strict impartiality or should it favor democratic "people's movements"? From the cooperative viewpoint, the controls of imports and restrictions on building factories and stores run counter to the co-op goal of continuous expansion. Should then cooperatives expect to have their movement recognized and favored as a special kind of private enterprise?²⁵

With labor governments committed to a program of national planning in the interests of maximum production and full employment, co-

²² NKL, *Protokoll*, 21 Kongress, June 1946, pp. 107-26.

²³ NKL, *Protokoll*, 22 Kongress, Trondheim, June 1948, pp. 119-38.

²⁴ *Protokoll*, 1946, p. 104.

²⁵ These questions are stated within a broader context in a paper presented by the writer on "The Role of the Citizen in National Planning" at a joint meeting of the International Sociological Association and the International Political Science Association in Zurich, September 6, 1950. See UNESCO Bulletin of the Social Sciences, No. 2, 1951.

operatives, in self-protection, are faced with a major political issue: the extent of regulation as it affects any expanding business. The problem in the case of cooperatives is more acute than with other businesses because a membership organization is involved. The cooperative principle of open membership results in growth and hence in the demand for more stores and production facilities. It is in the light of this problem that cooperators who argue that their movement would be as well off, or possibly better off, under a nonlabor government can be understood. At least, it suggests strongly that the tendency to identify cooperatives with the labor movement as politically developed in postwar Scandinavia distorts the actual situation, although, in posing the problem here, the distinction has not done justice to the cordial relations that normally exist between the movements.

There are also some indications in recent years that, apart from questions of political neutrality, cooperatives are developing a classless or perhaps a middle-class point of view. This is a judgment encountered among labor people in Sweden and Norway, and possibly they have assumed a greater trade union, socialist orientation in the past than was actually the case. As cooperatives have become firmly established, taking their place as big businesses, it is not surprising that the fighting edge of the movement has been dulled. A similar observation might also be made of the labor movement as it has acquired power and the burdens of administrative responsibility.

In this connection, a recent book in Sweden is worth noting, since it develops the idea that cooperatives represent a distinctive and independent social philosophy. Cooperation, or cooperatism, as a dynamic alternative to liberalism and to collectivism, is presented as fulfilling the essentials of freedom for personal development as well as responsible social relationships.²⁶ This philosophical case for cooperation has been amply presented by J. P. Warbasse and others in the United States, where, in contrast with Scandinavian countries, ideological development has far outdistanced practical achievements in the cooperative movement.

In Sweden and neighboring countries the dominant attitude of leaders in the cooperative movement is essentially pragmatic, without thought of solving all the problems of society, but at the same time seeking to apply cooperation in new fields. Thus, the cooperative movement can recognize a division of labor with agricultural and labor movements

²⁶ Karl Petander, *Kooperationen Som Samhallsaskadning*, Stockholm: Kooperativa Förbundet Bokförlag, 1949. Cf. Anders Örne, *Kooperatismen, en Studie över den Kooperativa Samhallsuppfattningen*, Stockholm, 1928.

and also represent a consumer point of view which may coincide with one or another political party.²⁷

In this sketchy review of the relations between the cooperative and labor movements, based in the main on materials from Norway and in part on observations from Sweden, there are three stages that may be noted in summary: (1) the early divergence in philosophy, marked by attitudes of indifference or distrust; (2) a long period of *rapprochement* and significant joint cooperative-labor activities with mutual acceptance of the political neutrality of cooperatives (and in Norway an underlying urban industrial-rural division in the membership and corresponding viewpoints); (3) a new period of redefining the position of cooperatives to government under national planning, where because of the political character of the governments, the relationships with the labor movement are indirectly involved.

²⁷ Interview, Mauritz Bonow, Kooperativa Förbundet, Stockholm, September 1950. In the consideration of legislative measures in Sweden, a reference system is used whereby organizations with a special interest in a given problem are consulted and their viewpoints are formally presented to the appropriate parliamentary committee. The cooperative organization is the spokesman for the consumer, and its viewpoints on specific issues may be in agreement with positions taken by a political party, but this is no indication of partisanship.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW: 1950

MELVIN J. VINCENT

University of Southern California

1950! A year of crisis for the United States in its quest for world peace and in its attempt to stem the tide of Communist aggression. A year that witnessed the "cold war" turn into a "hot" Korean affair. A year in which Communist "fellow-travelers" had been found burrowing their way into all sorts of places, high and low. A year that saw the failure of organized labor's effort to unseat the co-author of the LMRA of 1947—Senator Robert A. Taft. And a year in which the United States Supreme Court made valid the LMRA's anti-Communist oath requirement for the leaders of organized labor.

For organized labor as a whole, the year's events were none too vivid or spectacular. Despite the validity of the anti-Communist oath and the illegality of the hiring hall, labor emerged with some substantial gains, such as wage increases tied to cost-of-living indexes, bigger and better social security, inclusion of welfare and pension benefits in collective bargaining contracts, longer bargaining contracts, and increased employment. All these gains might signify that the accommodation process was working in full swing and without too much evidence of overt conflict, for there were only three greatly prolonged strikes. After the outbreak of the Korean War many workers were even wooed by management and given wage increases without struggle.

For management as a whole, the year was bountiful in its bestowal of some of the fattest profits ever recorded in United States industrial history. The President's Council of Economic Advisers estimated that the first-quarter profits already had established an annual record rate of 30.5 billion dollars, 2 billions more than in the first quarter of 1949. Some corporations were reported as showing anywhere from 20 to 38 per cent more profit than in 1949. General Electric, for instance, made over a 36-million-dollar profit alone during the first quarter, the highest in its history. An industrial production peak reared itself in August, the highest since August 1945. In November General Motors voted to pay its 430,452 stockholders the biggest year-end cash dividend ever paid—223.7 millions, or 36.9 millions more than in 1949. Cash dividends for all United States corporations were announced as being on the average about 8 per cent higher than for the preceding year. 1950 was a year of mixed "blessings," with bigger wages, bigger profits, bigger taxes, higher prices, shrinking dollar values, and death in Korea. Indeed,

it was a good year for management, for organized labor, and for all those who could profit from industrial production for defense. But for the unorganized and the white-collar workers, and some professional workers, it was not such a good year, for their tax rates went up with rising prices and they had no protective flexible wage scales to prevent their standard of living from sinking.

The labor events cited for the year have been chronologically placed. As in former years, they have been compiled from press dispatches, the news weeklies, magazine articles, news broadcasting, Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*, official newspapers, bulletins, and pamphlets of the AFL and CIO.

JANUARY

Robert Denham, general counsel of NLRB, fails in attempt to get the 3-day work week in the mines called off. Lewis' shortened work week has lasted for 7 months.

United States Steel Corporation announces that the cost of the recently won strike which secured pensions and insurance benefits for its 290,000 workers would cost 78 million dollars. The steelmen owners explain to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report on the recent advances in steel prices, but the United Steel Workers' Research Director, Otis Brubaker, refutes the explanation given.

United Auto Workers strike the Chrysler plant over a pension plan.

Coal operators agree to talk to J. L. Lewis, and President Truman asks both to agree to a 70-day truce.

FEBRUARY

Lewis rejects the Truman request for the 70-day truce and the appointment of a Presidential Fact-finding Board. Lewis declares: "The mineworkers do not wish three strangers, however well intentioned, but necessarily ill informed, to fix their wages, decree their working conditions, define their living standards, and limit the educational standards of their children." Truman, angry, for the eighth time uses the Taft-Hartley Act's machinery and orders a three-man inquiry board to report within 7 days. Lewis retorts that this is nothing short of attempting to use the power of the state to drive men into involuntary servitude. A total of 370,000 miners on strike, with nation down to a 2 weeks' coal supply. Injunction issued banning Lewis from asking for arbitrary privileges in new coal contract and ordering him to appear before a Taft-Hartley Fact-finding Board. The Board reports after a hearing that both parties were more eager to secure tactical advantages than a contract. Court order issued to miners, sending them back to work. Lewis tells the miners to cease the work stoppage, but the miners refuse to return to the pits.

United States Supreme Court holds that the hiring-hall practices of the CIO's National Maritime Union are in violation of the LMRA.

Walter Reuther's UAW announces it does not like escalator clauses and will try for the annual wage guarantee when its General Motors contract expires in May. The workers had suffered two small cuts in pay.

Sheaffer Pen Company's 1,766 workers receive a huge bonus—50 per cent of their pay. Bonus system introduced in 1934. Workers non-union and nonstriking.

CIO casts out the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union because of Communist tendencies—the sixth union to be eliminated from its membership.

Robert Wood Johnson and a committee of 48 businessmen, labor men, and church men send out a report entitled *Human Relations in Modern Business*. Among other things, the report states that the "root of labor's past unrest and dissatisfaction was management's own failure to meet the needs of man's moral and social nature."

United States Census Bureau places the figure of unemployment at 4,684,000.

MARCH

John L. Lewis and his Mine Workers emerge with a great victory at the hands of Federal Judge Richmond Keech when he decides that the UMW is innocent of fomenting a strike. They are also victorious in their battle with the operators, who sign a new contract calling for an increase of 10¢ a ton to the royalty fund and a 70¢ pay increase, making for a \$14.75 day. The "willing and able" phrase was changed to "good faith," and the contract was made to last until July 1952 with the right of the union to open it after April 1951 for wage changes.

Chrysler offers a 30-million-dollar pension fund (\$100 a month) to its workers, on strike for 8 weeks.

CIO forms a Government and Civic Employees Organization Committee.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, chairman of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, declares that the recent increase in steel prices is unwarranted and makes the following suggestions: (1) injection of more competition into the steel business, (2) decision on whether the steel business should be regarded as a public utility, (3) a 30-day cooling-off period on price hikes, (4) a call for a quarterly Federal Trade report on steel-pricing practices. Senator Taft and five Republican colleagues on the Committee refuse to sign the report.

APRIL

Eleven-week-old Chrysler strike costs placed over a billion dollars. Bitter feelings develop between Reuther and K. T. Keller of management as relief rolls of Detroit expand.

Harry Bridges convicted by a Federal jury of perjury in denying that he had ever been a Communist at the time of his naturalization proceedings in 1945. Sentenced to 5 years in prison.

President's Council of Economic Advisers estimate that first-quarter profits had run at an annual rate of 30.5 billion dollars, 2 billion more than in 1949. American Telegraph and Telephone reports a net of \$64,400,000, more than 20 per cent ahead of same period in 1949.

Senate banking subcommittee chairman, J. Wm. Fulbright, begins an investigation of the RFC and its loans.

Murray of CIO asks AFL to consider interunion collaboration, and an AFL-CIO unity committee results.

Threatened railway strike of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen looms.

MAY

Chrysler strike, second longest in history of Chrysler, ends after 100 days. UAW wins \$100-a-month pensions for men of 65 who have worked 25 years. Did not win union shop but obtained voluntary union dues check-off contract, to run 3 years, and saved pension plan, to run 5 years.

Supreme Court upholds the Taft-Hartley LMRA's non-Communist oath requirement for labor leaders.

Eighteen thousand railway firemen walk off their jobs on four big railroads but go back within the week after proposal to arbitrate.

CIO holds hearing on Communist Harry Bridges for sabotaging its policies.

NLRB holds that when information on payrolls is needed for collective bargaining, a company must give the union data for a full year on all its employees in bargaining unit represented by the union.

General Motors signs contract with Reuther's UAW. Terms: (1) 5-year agreement with full production and no strikes, (2) automatic wage increase yearly, noncontributory pension plan (said to be one of the most generous in existence), (3) accident and sick benefits at \$45.50 a week with split costs to union and company, (4) modified union shop. Cost-of-living clause (now paying 3¢ extra an hour) which will not drop below basic wage. Pension gives \$100 a month, and if Social Security benefits are raised sum will be \$117.50 per month.

ILGWU holds its twenty-seventh annual convention. Organized in 1900 with a membership of 2,000, it now has 423,000 members. Union has been a major factor in riddance of sweat shop and in reducing a 60-hour week to a 35-hour one. Maintains an 850-acre resort for health, leisure, and recreation of its membership.

Representative John Lesinski, Chairman of House Labor Committee, dies on May 27.

Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that more people are working (59,731,000) than at any other time since August 1949. Number of unemployed (3,057,000) lowest since April 1949.

JUNE

Beginning of a sharp new rise in prices. Committee for Economic Development reports that half a century of change had tripled the standard of living for the average worker, with real wages rising from 43¢ an hour (1949 prices) to \$1.33 in 1950 and workers' productivity rising about 2.5 per cent a year. The new Industrial Revolution was achieved by (1) substituting mechanical energy for human and animal, (2) mass production and better distribution, (3) a multitude of new machine inventions, (4) a complex new form of industrial organization integrating vast numbers of men and machines. Report states that management must seek to make lives of its workers more meaningful and satisfying by more clearly interpreting their roles; unions should relax seniority rules hampering management's right to recognize ability. Industry must find ways of reducing seasonal unemployment and create jobs for older people preferring to work rather than to retire.

Harry Bridges has his United States citizenship revoked.

Switchmen's Union (AFL) strikes on five Western and Mid-western railroads, ignoring a government appeal. Presidential Emergency Board had recommended adjustment of hours and pay rates for other operating unions, accepted by railroads but denounced by trainmen and conductors, who, however, accepted a new government offer to review the mediation findings.

JULY

Outbreak of war in Korea. Nation in an industrial boom. Employment reaches 61,482,000; unemployed, 3,384,000. Food costs rise sharply. Cost-of-living index of Bureau of Labor Statistics up .8 per cent to 68.6 per cent above 1935-39 period.

Half-year mark shows earnings for big corporations largest in history: General Electric records show a 6 months' net of \$77.4 million, Johns Manville a net of \$10.1 million, while the steel industry reports the

second quarter the most remarkable production yet achieved, over 100 per cent capacity for 10 straight weeks. First time annual production rate of 100 million tons had nearly been reached.

Under Truman pressure, railway switchmen call off strike on four lines but continue to picket the Rock Island as a test of the "legality of a strike in a free country." Truman seizes the Rock Island and a Federal Court injunction orders men back to work. W. Stuart Symington, chairman of National Security Resources Board plans to meet CIO and AFL officials with John L. Lewis and George Leighty of the railway labor unions for conferences over labor's part in civilian manpower affairs. Symington appears before a Congressional Committee to urge passage of Truman's "Defense Act of 1950."

Bureau of Labor Statistics issues its thirty-fifth anniversary issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*, containing an excellent section devoted to "Fifty Years Progress of American Labor," a chronology for 50 years of the major labor developments (1900-50). Article also mentions the most significant books on labor published for the same period.

AUGUST

Employment up to 62,367,000, an all-time high with industrial production at highest since August 1945.

New compromise Social Security bill passed, sent to Truman, and signed. Act now covers more than 45 million people.

Chrysler announces a voluntary 10¢-an-hour raise for its workers and General Motors a 5¢-an-hour increase based on new Consumer Price Index of Bureau of Labor Statistics—index rose 1.4 per cent from June 15 to July 15. Index placed at 172.5 with base of 100 set at 1935-39 prices.

Five-day token strike called by trainmen and conductors on Pittsburgh & Lake Erie and Elgin, Joliet & Eastern railroads. Presidential Fact-finding Board had recommended a 40-hour week with an 18¢-an-hour raise for yard workers. Accepted by management but refused by unions.

Federal Government seizes the railroads on account of threatened strike.

SEPTEMBER

Truman signs the Defense Production Act of 1950, designed to speed up economic mobilization without inflation. Act gave him powers to seek voluntary labor-management cooperation in an effort to stabilize prices and wages, to invoke mandatory controls on prices and wages until June 30, 1951. W. S. Symington made Coordinator of Controls.

Public policy in relation to manpower placed in hands of Department of Labor. Office of Defense Manpower created.

Under constant pressure of the unions, NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham resigns at request of Truman, and his assistant, George J. Bott, named in his place. Denham in a *Saturday Evening Post* article (December 1950) tells his side of the story under the title "And So I Was Purged."

Ford gives workers 8¢-13¢-an-hour pay boosts with pensions ranging from \$100 to \$125 a month. CIO packinghouse workers get boost of 11¢ an hour from Cudahy and Swift, while textile workers get 13¢ an hour more from Industrial Rayon Corporation. General Electric gave its workers a 10¢-an-hour raise with a one-way escalator clause based on cost of living.

William Green of AFL ready to urge nonstrike pledges and urges J. L. Lewis to back him up but in reply gets a memo stating: "The mine workers are not yet ready for you to sell them down the river. Restrict pledges to your own outfit. We do our own nonstriking." CIO expels Harry Bridges from its executive board. Eleven unions have now been put out of the CIO for Communist leanings. Sixty-ninth AFL convention held in Houston, Texas.

Three months' strike of UMW's "catch-all" District 50 settled by accepting a 10¢-an-hour pay hike with a cost-of-living bonus attached.

Internal Security Act of 1950 passed over Presidential veto.

OCTOBER

Second quarter of 1950 shows that twenty-two major manufacturing industries earned over 3 billions after taxes were deducted—34 per cent more than in the first quarter and 59 per cent more than in the second quarter of 1949, while the third-quarter profits are running about 45 per cent ahead of same quarter in 1949. General Motors in the first 9 months earned \$702,655,000—more than any other American corporation had ever made in a single year.

Agriculture Department predicts that machinery and new farming techniques will cut the farm population down from 27 millions (18 per cent of population) to 23,800,000 (12 per cent of population) by 1975.

Ernest Weir's Steel Company employees vote to reject CIO and to form a new independent union, making it the only big steel company not in CIO.

NOVEMBER

Wage Stabilization Board (9 members) takes oath of office. Cyrus S. Ching had been appointed chairman in October.

President Truman escapes assassination at hands of two Puerto Ricans.

Republicans in November elections come within two seats of capturing control of the Senate. CIO and AFL reported to have spent at least a million dollars to defeat certain candidates, and blame failure to do so on high wages, lack of interest, lack of unionist affection on part of wives of unionists and the like. Senator Taft wins in Ohio by a big majority.

Cash dividends continue to increase, being on an average about 8 per cent greater than in 1949. Truman calls for a corporate excess profits tax to raise 4 billions more for defense. Strike of 16,000 CIO equipment workers of Western Electric Company disrupts some of the nation's telephone service. Strike ended shortly by granting of a 10¢-an-hour increase.

Seventeenth National Conference on Labor Legislation meets in Washington (November 29-December 1) at invitation of Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin. CIO's twelfth convention held in Chicago.

DECEMBER

Mobilization of industry hastened as Communist forces in Korea inflict defeat upon United Nations forces. President Truman declares the existence of a national emergency on December 16. Charles E. Wilson, President of General Electric, named as head of new office of Defense Mobilization; Michael V. Di Salle, mayor of Toledo, named as Price Stabilizer; and Millard F. Caldwell, former governor of Florida, as Civilian Defense Administrator.

Automobile prices frozen, but General Motors protests and freezes its sales until Economic Stabilizer Valentine refuses to heed the protests.

CIO Steelworkers receive new contract with U.S. Steel and get raises of 16¢ to 18¢ an hour. Price of steel goes up. Chrysler hands out another raise to its workers, the second since September. More than one million workers are now covered by cost-of-living contracts and are receiving automatic pay boosts.

United Labor Policy Committee formed—consisting of heads of AFL, CIO, Machinists, and Railway Labor Executive Association plus ten other high union officers—to work out agreements on major labor policies.

Truman orders striking trainmen to return to work, but the 21-month-old issue of 48 hours' pay for 40 hours of work still remains unsolved.

And so the end of the year 1950 witnessed a prosperous but somewhat confused nation being prepared for a wartime economy. The Korean

War, at first called a "police action," took a turn for the worse with the entrance of the Chinese "Reds" into the fray at the very time it was announced that the end was in sight. On September 8 the Defense Production Act was made into law, and thereafter labor, management, and the public were made aware of its meaning. The Office of Defense Manpower was created by Secretary of Labor Tobin, who appointed Robert C. Goodwin as its head. On October 7 President Truman appointed Alan Valentine as Economic Stabilization Director. After declaring that a state of national emergency existed on December 16, the President created the office of Defense Mobilization and named Charles E. Wilson as its chief. Cyrus S. Ching had been appointed in October to head a then nonexistent Wage Stabilization Board, which finally came into being during November. In the same month Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense.

The only other piece of important Federal legislation to affect labor was the passage of an amendment to the Social Security Act which added about ten million workers to the benefits and extended increased payments. Two important United States Supreme Court decisions made unionists aware of the legality of the anti-Communist oath for labor leaders and the outlawing of the hiring hall as an avenue for the maintenance of the closed shop.

Unionists, however disappointed at the outcome of the November elections, rejoiced over the forced resignation of Robert N. Denham as general counsel for the NLRB. Union membership for the AFL was announced as being 7,143,000, down about 98,000 from 1949; CIO's membership, despite the expulsion of eleven Communist-dominated unions, remained at about six million. Although the number of strikes was well over 4,000 and involved some 2,300,000 workers, few were of the violent order; and most of them owed their origin to the rapidly changing economy, briskly rising prices, startlingly huge profits, and happy extensions of opportunities for defense jobs. The absence of violence from the scene may, among other things, indicate the success of improved collective bargaining skills and arrangements. Newsworthy is the fact that several large corporations, including Ford, Chrysler, and United States Steel, offered more liberal contract terms to unionists before the expiration of existing contracts. Escalator clauses, in general, were succeeded either by flexible wage payments or by provisions for periodic increases, while some contracts were made for three- and five-year periods, revealing perhaps a spirit of mutual confidence. Labor had made itself, if not a political force, an economic one. 1950!

BIRTH CONTROL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES OF NEGRO MOTHERS

PRESTON VALIEN AND RUTH E. VAUGHN

Fisk University

A good deal of demographic data has been assembled during recent years to document the existence of differential fertility rates between various social and economic groups. Such data for this country usually reveal that fertility rates are approximately the same for whites and Negroes in urban areas but differ markedly in rural areas. In 1940 the net reproduction rate for both whites and Negroes was 74 in urban areas, while in rural-farm areas it was 140 for whites and 160 for Negroes. This indicated that, were it not for migration and immigration, there was a potential decline in the urban population of 26 per cent per generation for each racial group and a potential increase in the rural-farm population of 40 per cent for whites and 60 per cent for Negroes. Since these fluctuations between and within these racial groups are hardly explainable by changes or differences in fecundity, the reasons are to be sought in the social experiences and cultural environments of the different groups.

In our culture, birth control seems to be the most influential social experience which affects reproductive behavior, but there are wide divergences in the extent to which it is accepted and practiced as a means of family limitation. Kiser and Whelpton state that "... contraception constitutes only the means of family limitation and that back of the means lies a network of cultural and personal factors inducing some people, more than others, to resort to family limitations."¹ The present report deals with one of a series of continuing, small pilot studies on the birth control attitudes and practices of urban Negroes.² The major assumption of these studies is that variations in cultural and personal backgrounds of mothers are associated with variations in attitudes toward and practice of birth control. The present report is limited to a discussion of the factors of rural or urban birthplace, educational level, employment of the mother outside the home, source of information regarding contraception, and length of residence in the city of interview.

¹ C. V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, "Progress Report on the Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility," *American Sociological Review*, 12:175-86, 1947.

² Cf. Preston Valien and Alberta Price Fitzgerald, "Attitudes of the Negro Mother toward Birth Control," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55:279-83, 1949, for a report on a clinical group.

Briefly stated, the group reported on herein consisted of a random sample of Negro mothers under 40 years of age who were living in one of the five census tracts of Nashville inhabited predominantly by Negroes and whose marriages were unbroken at the time of the interview. The interviewing was done during November 1949 by the junior author.

Attitudes toward birth control were classified as favorable, unfavorable, or indifferent; and, of the 100 mothers interviewed, 59 had favorable attitudes toward birth control. However, only 18 of the mothers were practicing birth control. Three major reasons were given by these

TABLE 1
ATTITUDE TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL OF 100 NEGRO MOTHERS

Attitude of Mother	Negro Mothers
Mothers Interviewed.....	100
Favorable and use birth control.....	18
Favorable but neglected to use birth control.....	25
Favorable but believe that they are sterile and do not need to use birth control.....	6
Favorable but desire more children.....	10
Total favorable.....	59
Unfavorable for religious reasons.....	16
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is injurious to health.....	6
Unfavorable because of husband's disapproval.....	5
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is inefficient.....	5
Total unfavorable.....	32
Indifferent—never considered birth control in any terms.....	9

18 mothers for desiring to control the size of their families. Nine of the mothers wanted to prevent conception for financial reasons. One mother in this category commented as follows:

I want to educate these kids right and I've got to feed and clothe them. Having children is an expensive proposition. And this place is no place to raise any kids. The landlord won't even give us any electric lights, and right now we don't have enough money to go any place else. So I don't want any more children right now. Prices are too high and times are too hard.

Six of the 18 mothers felt that, regardless of financial conditions, they had all the children they desired. Some of these mothers had discussed with their husbands before marriage the number of children they wanted after marriage and had come to a definite decision. This decision was maintained, and when the desired number of children had been born and were yet living, the mothers felt that it was then necessary to practice contraception.

Three of the 18 mothers using birth control stated that it was being done for reasons of health. One woman, nearly 40 years of age and the mother of 9 children, stated that her physician had advised her to use birth control, for another child would probably result in her death.

In addition to the 18 mothers who stated that they were practicing birth control, 41 other mothers were favorably inclined toward birth control, but, for various reasons, were not practicing it. Twenty-five of the 41 had simply neglected to use any type of contraception, some attributing it to expensiveness of desired methods and others merely to "inconvenience" or "too much trouble." Six of the 41 mothers felt that they were sterile and had no need for contraceptive methods, two having had their sterility confirmed by medical examination. The remaining 10 mothers who were favorably inclined toward birth control, but were not practicing it, gave as their reason for not doing so their desire to have more children.

Thirty-two of the 100 mothers interviewed had unfavorable attitudes toward birth control. Half of the 32 were unfavorably inclined because of religious reasons. A typical comment was:

The Lord put us on earth to multiply. Women got to have children, 'cause men can't have 'em. And I trust in the Lord. He made me and when I have had all I'm supposed to have, then I'll quit. Can't have any more than the Lord says. And to use them birth controls would mean I'm messin' with the Lord's business.

Six of the mothers believed that birth control was unhealthful, 5 others were unfavorable toward it because of their husbands' disapproval, and 5 felt that birth control methods were inefficient. Documenting her belief in the inefficiency of birth control techniques, one mother who had attended a birth control clinic several years ago stated, "They gave me a birth control, but it's still in the cedar chest just like when they gave it to me. I just ain't got no faith in it."

Various factors may be associated with such variations in attitudes. Mothers of rural background, for example, are usually believed to be more unfavorable in their attitudes toward birth control than mothers of urban birthplace. Approximately three fifths of the 71 mothers of

urban birth were favorably inclined toward birth control as compared with slightly over one half of the rural-born mothers. A higher proportion of urban-born mothers had unfavorable attitudes because of religious reasons and because of the belief that birth control is inefficient, while a higher proportion of rural-born mothers had unfavorable attitudes because of husbands' disapproval and because of the belief that birth control is injurious to health. In addition, 21 per cent of the urban-born mothers were practicing birth control as compared with 10 per cent of the rural-born mothers.

It has long been accepted as a matter of general knowledge that birth control practices are associated with levels of education. The results of this study indicate that the division between high school graduation and below that level is significant for attitudes toward birth control. Approximately three fourths of the mothers who had completed high school training had favorable attitudes toward birth control as compared with approximately half of those who had not completed high school. In the matter of practice in birth control, approximately one third of the high school graduates were using birth control methods as compared with less than one tenth of those below that educational level.

One of the minor hypotheses of this study was that working mothers would have more favorable attitudes toward birth control than non-working mothers. Table 2 shows that a larger proportion of the working mothers were favorable toward birth control than the nonworking mothers. However, the number of working mothers was small, only 12 of the mothers falling into this category.

Another minor hypothesis was that the source of information regarding birth control would have some relationship to the attitudes of the mothers. While 43, or almost half, of the mothers reported no source of information, 51 per cent had favorable attitudes toward birth control. Thirty-four mothers had received their information from physicians, and two thirds of these mothers had favorable attitudes. Of the 18 mothers who were practicing birth control, 13 had received birth control information from their physicians.

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL
OF 100 NEGRO MOTHERS

Attitude of Mother	Employment Status			
	Employed		Not Employed	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Mothers Interviewed.....	12	100.0	88	100.0
Favorable and use birth control.....	2	16.7	16	18.2
Favorable but neglected to use birth control.....	2	16.7	23	26.1
Favorable but believe that they are sterile and do not need birth control.....	2	16.7	4	4.5
Favorable but desire more children.....	2	16.7	8	9.1
Total favorable.....	8	66.7	51	57.9
Unfavorable for religious reasons.....	2	16.7	14	15.9
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is injurious to health.....	1	8.3	5	5.7
Unfavorable because of husband's disapproval.....	1	8.3	4	4.5
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is inefficient.....	0	0.0	5	5.7
Total unfavorable.....	4	33.3	28	31.8
Indifferent—never considered birth control in any terms.....	0	0.0	9	10.2

When attitudes of the mothers interviewed were associated with length of residence of the mothers in Nashville (Table 3), it was found that almost two thirds of the 40 mothers who had lived in Nashville for life were favorable toward birth control. This was the largest favorable proportion of any residence category. As for the practice of birth control, 17 of the 18 practicing mothers had been in Nashville 10 years or more.

TABLE 3
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NASHVILLE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD
BIRTH CONTROL OF 100 NEGRO MOTHERS

Attitude of Mother	Length of Residence in Nashville					
	Less Than 10 Years		10-19 Years		20 Years and Over	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Mothers Interviewed.....	23	100.0	24	100.0	13	100.0
Favorable and use birth control.....	1	4.4	4	16.7	2	15.3
Favorable but neglected to use birth control.....	5	21.7	7	29.1	4	30.8
Favorable but believe that they are sterile and do not need birth control.....	2	8.8	2	8.3	1	7.7
Favorable but desire more children.....	4	17.4	1	4.2	0	0.0
Total favorable.....	12	52.3	14	58.3	7	53.8
Unfavorable for religious reasons.....	2	8.7	5	20.8	4	30.8
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is injurious to health.....	3	13.0	1	4.2	0	0.0
Unfavorable because of husband's disapproval.....	3	13.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Unfavorable because of belief that birth control is inefficient.....	2	8.7	0	0.0	1	7.7
Total unfavorable.....	10	43.4	6	25.0	5	38.5
Indifferent—never considered birth control in any terms.....	1	4.3	4	16.7	1	7.7
					3	7.5

In summary it may be stated :

1. Almost three fifths of the mothers had favorable attitudes toward birth control, although slightly less than one fifth reported practicing birth control at the time of the interview.

2. Half of the 32 mothers who were unfavorable toward birth control gave religious reasons.

3. The proportion of urban-born mothers practicing birth control was more than twice the proportion of rural-born mothers.

4. The division between high school graduation and below that level was significant for attitudes toward and practice of birth control.

5. Working mothers were more favorable in their attitudes toward birth control than nonworking mothers.

6. Practically all the mothers who reported that they were practicing birth control had received birth control information from physicians.

7. Of the 18 mothers who were practicing birth control, 17 had lived in Nashville 10 years or longer.

It is hoped that the above findings may suggest a number of implications for further study of this important subject.

PROBLEMS AND ADJUSTMENTS OF RETIRED PERSONS

JU-SHU PAN
University of Chicago

Retirement is becoming a matter of increasing importance in America, for with the coming of such public aids as social security and similar private aids many more persons will be able to retire, and, due to the extension of length of life, there are now more competitors for jobs so that a worker may find himself involuntarily retired even before sixty. Retirement may bring new freedom to follow new patterns and active interests which are conducive to mental and physical health; it may become a period of fulfillment, meaning, and value for the individual. It can mean many things to many different people.

Generally speaking, there are six personal and social factors which influence retirement plans.

1. The frustrations and denials imposed on the worker by modern specialization and organization of industry and the professions have created boredom, irritation, and antagonism which wear down the worker.

2. Real or anticipated decrease in status may result from continuing in the present activity. Competition from younger and more vigorous men often poses a losing fight to the older person. Retirement permits the removal from areas of intense competition to activities and location where these differentials in prestige are of less concern.

3. A third personal factor arises from reduced comrade relationships. Death and the departure of contemporaries is frequently more difficult to endure than the loss of prestige or physical discomforts.

4. A fourth factor involves the reaction of the aging person toward the problem of security during his remaining life.

5. The decline of energy and health brings conditions of fatigue and marked decline in nervous energy. This produces a continuum of irritations and increases the older person's concern over his ability to continue his useful functioning at the level of competition at which he works.

6. Compulsory retirement systems force older people to retire at given chronological ages. With increasing compulsory retirement this problem of a changing social role becomes increasingly significant in a predominantly industrial society.

The problem of society in revising its concepts of the social role of older persons is one of providing for their needs and desires to be useful

members. These particular needs and desires are, of course, by-products of our society, which provides the social drives to make individuals independent and useful members during their lifetime, and then in later years denies them the rewards of usefulness and the status which produces a feeling of achievement.

Lehman, in his recent study, reveals that numerous positions of high-ranking leadership are most likely to be acquired and retained during the ages fifty to seventy.¹ Collectively, this must be due to environmental and cultural factors rather than to genetic changes.

The personal and social factors which may influence the decision to retire having been treated, attention should now be given to the personal adjustments to retirement.

1. Among these is the preparation in attitudes and pattern of life for a retirement experience. Aging and retirement are social-psychological processes which may put added strain on an individual's attitudes.

2. Some have succeeded so well in preparing that when the time came to retire their greed was whetted to new and greater efforts to earn money. Some have never learned to live within an income and soon are hopelessly in debt.

3. The test most useful for predicting an individual's adjustment to retirement, with its drastic upheaval of habits, is found in the previous readjustments which have had to be made throughout life. If in earlier experiences a person has resisted the change to new roles, he may then anticipate difficulties in making a graceful adjustment to retirement.

4. The preparation for retirement begins early in terms of the life pattern and should not be neglected too long in the development of interests and hobbies suitable for the older years.

5. Attention should be given to the question, Who should retire?

6. In a consideration of the treatment of adjustments to retirement the highly debatable question, At what age shall one retire? should be posed.

7. The question of location of retirement is of importance. No general answer would be satisfactory to everyone. Questions as to climate, view, available activities, and social organization of the community or area will influence the choice made by many persons.

8. To what shall one retire? The assumption in this paper has been that a person retires to some activity or interest. Closely related to activity and interest is the establishment of new social contacts and group-

¹ H. C. Lehman, "The Age of Eminent Leaders: Then and Now," *American Journal of Sociology*, 3:4:342-56, 1947.

ings to replace those lost through change of location or death of former friends. This cannot be passively achieved. There are five basic procedures for successful retirement: (a) Start planning retirement in the forties or fifties. Allow ten years to plan and perfect a retirement program. (b) Make useful activity the core of a retirement plan. Plan to keep busy. Give up the "rocking chair" phantasy. (c) Develop a hobby that is really enjoyed. (d) Give retirement plans a preretirement trial. (e) Devote part of retirement time to community or charitable service such as part-time nurses aid work, raising funds for hospitals, or serving on the board of education. This will give a sense of accomplishment.

Hypotheses. In order to obtain a preliminary understanding of the changes in attitudes toward retirement, several factors which seem to be related to adjustment in retirement will be indicated. Although little formal research has dealt with the subject of positive and negative attitudes toward retirement, there are many aspects of adjustment within these two broad categories.

1. Retirement creates physiological problems mainly through the danger of accelerated deterioration which results from disuse and change of habits to which the organism has become adapted. By virtue of necessity as well as of cultural evaluation, the importance of earning a living is so great that the severance of occupational connections constitutes a transition of critical significance for our aged. It creates physiological, psychological, and social problems of adjustment.

2. Financial adjustments to retirement in its traditional forms depend chiefly on the economic provisions made by the individual and the economic assistance which he can expect from his family, particularly his children. The preliminary factors in attitudes toward retirement are doubtless related to economic needs which must be satisfied to some degree as long as life lasts.

3. Retirement from one's lifework involves much more than an economic problem. Many people who have ample financial resources become seriously maladjusted because of retirement. This fact suggests that it may be useful to examine the meaning of work for various people and to use the results of this examination in the formulation of policies of retirement and in the preparation of people for retirement.

4. There are doubtless many other factors related to adjustment including those of a cultural nature: education, family and marital status, general personality make-up and philosophy of life, membership in organizations, opportunities for social contacts, and living arrangements. Each of these factors calls for a separate study in itself.

STATUS AND ROLE AMONG FIFTH-GRADE SCHOOL CHILDREN

LESLIE D. ZELENY

Colorado State College of Education

This is a report of a study of the social status¹ of boys and girls in a fifth-grade science class.²

After the administration of a sociometric exercise requesting pupils to indicate those with whom they would or would not like to work in science, the social status indices of each pupil were computed in the following manner: (1) Social status scores of each pupil were obtained by computing the average intensity of the attitudes expressed toward them by all the pupils in the class. (2) Social status scores of each pupil were obtained by computing the average intensity of the attitudes expressed toward them by members of their own sex. (3) Social status scores of each pupil were obtained by computing the average intensity of the attitudes expressed toward them by members of the opposite sex.

The results of the sociometric survey will be reported by the presentation of two tables of status scores—each followed by subjective statements evaluating the role-playing ability of some of the pupils in the table.

Inspection of Table 1 shows that boys did not always receive the same relative status from their boy associates as from their girl associates. For example, B3 received .46 from his boy associates but only .05 from his girl associates. It would seem that B3, whose .46 social status index was relatively high, knew how to take the role assigned by his boy associates, but did not know how to live up to the expectation of his girl associates. Some evidence of this was given on the sociometric exercise where pupils gave "reasons" for their sociometric choices. Boy associates said of B3 that "he works hard," "doesn't play around," and "does good work"; but girls said that B3 is "always teasing girls" and is "too silly." Thus B3 was lacking in knowledge useful in adjusting to girls' expectancies. He needed a special type of instruction in role playing.

¹ See Leslie D. Zeleny, "Measurement of Sociation," *American Sociological Review*, 6:173-86, 1940. Social status is here defined as the average intensity of the attitudes (positive and negative) expressed toward a child by his associates. Attitudes were expressed by a selection of associates for work in science study groups.

² The study was made in the fifth-grade class of Miss Beatrice Williams in the laboratory school of the State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota. The cooperation of Miss Williams is gratefully acknowledged.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL STATUS INDICES OF BOYS

Boys	Status Index from All	Status Index from Boys	Status Index from Girls
B1	.41	.46	.35
B2	.64	.70	.55
B3	.25	.46	.05
B4	.20	.13	.30
B5	.52	.58	.45
B6	— .14	— .20	— .05
B7	— .75	— .75	— .55
B8	.48	.42	.55
B9	.52	.50	.35
B10	.34	.50	.20
B11	.60	.75	.45
B12	.07	.13	.00
B13	.07	.38	— .30

Of equal interest is a study of social status indices of girls obtained from the reactions of boys and of girls taken separately. This is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
SOCIAL STATUS INDICES OF GIRLS

Girls	Status Index from All	Status Index from Girls	Status Index from Boys
G1	— .24	— .39	— .07
G2	.29	.22	.27
G3	— .07	.11	— .12
G4	— .07	.56	— .50
G5	.36	.78	.00
G6	.32	.39	.27
G7	.16	.33	— .12
G8	.43	.72	.23
G9	— .32	— .06	— .50
G10	.32	.44	.23

In the case of the girls there were several instances where there was a great discrepancy between the social status index received from girl associates and that received from boy associates. For example, G4 received a social status index of .56 from her girl associates and an index of —.50 from her boy associates. It would seem that she knew how to adjust to one sex only. Examination of the "reasons" for choices given by her girl associates showed the following statements: "She's a good worker"; "she is very nice"; "she does her best work." The verbal responses of her boy associates were like the following: "Thinks too much her own way"; "she giggles too much"; "she doesn't get down to work." The "reasons" given by the pupils are not very diagnostic, but G4 was unable to live up to expectancies as far as the boys were concerned.

Inspection of Tables 1 and 2 will show that in most instances fifth-grade boys and girls live up to the expectancies of their own sex better than to the expectancies of the opposite sex.

It is possible that many boys and girls suffer from unnecessary frustrations on the fifth-grade level for lack of understanding of the role expectancies of the opposite sex.

Though this study is merely suggestive rather than complete, the findings appear to conform to the frustration-aggression hypothesis: "Frustration produces instigation to aggression."³ In our "cases" low status individuals were "always teasing girls" or "thinking too much her own way" (domination). These responses may be considered aggressive behavior. In this report aggressive behavior means aggressive behavior toward the opposite sex. Why would it be that these fifth graders were more aggressive toward the opposite sex than toward their own sex? It is possible that their behavior toward the opposite sex failed to conform to the role expectancies of that sex in considerable degree. This meant rejection and consequent relatively low social status, as measured sociometrically. The low social status, which can easily be felt, is another form of social frustration which may also contribute to aggression.

Could it be that an answer to the problem of the low status of fifth graders with respect to the opposite sex will be found in education in role playing? This type of education, however, is not to be found in the current fifth-grade textbooks.

³Neal E. Miller, O. H. Mowrer, Leonard W. Dobb, and John Dollard, "The Frustration—Aggression Hypothesis," *Psychological Review*, 48:337-40, 1941.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

National health services of one kind or another function today in many lands, including the United States. They may include a public health agency such as the Public Health Service of the United States, which was established in 1798. They may include a complete governmental system such as was developed in the United States during World War II to meet the health needs of over 11,000,000 men and women in the armed services, when doctors, dentists, and nurses were employed on salary bases by the Government and when all the expenses of such services were paid from taxes and other income of the Treasury Department. Very few objections were raised to this.

This paper, however, will discuss some of the social aspects of the peacetime National Health Service of Great Britain as observed by the writer when visiting in England and Scotland in June and July 1950. Before making this trip the writer had read many reports in the United States which were unfavorable to the new National Health Service of Britain. Hence, he was prepared to learn the worst that might be true.

The observations that are herein reported are based on interviews with people in all the main walks of life in Britain: with doctors, with members of Parliament, both Conservative and Labor, with factory workers, and with sons and daughters of miners. They are also based on published reports of the National Health Service and of debates in the House of Commons, on reports published in the newspapers of London, Manchester, and Glasgow, on visits to those cities, and on studies being made by university-trained investigators. A number of social aspects of the operation of the National Health Service of Great Britain will now be noted.

At first, and superficially, it seemed as though the National Health Service was widely unpopular. Complaints were freely expressed, even by those ostensibly in favor of the Health Service. An interview was often closed, however, with the comment that "we English are prone to find fault even with that which we favor." A supplementary comment was added, "We grouse a great deal about everything."

It was not easy to understand this complaining attitude by the friends of any measure, whether it involved national health procedures or a

Government project for raising peanuts in Africa. The tendency, however, was clarified when it was pointed out that not only in England but in other western and northern countries of Europe it is not unusual for the supporters of a law to criticize it and to keep on doing so until its defects are corrected and until it is perfected as much as possible. Thus a law is criticized by both its supporters and opponents—as a normal procedure. If the proponents can offer a given criticism first, they can take the sting out of the opponent's adverse diatribe.

It was interesting to note that while complaints are many, there is a widespread and general support of the National Health Service. Nearly everyone except the doctors approves it, and even a number of the doctors are in favor of it, provided certain disadvantages for the medical profession are changed. Not only the Labor party and the Liberal party but also the Conservative party is for it. Even Mr. Churchill is favorable, and he included it in his campaign speeches in February 1950. If they were in power, the Conservative party would keep the National Health Service but proclaim that they "would operate it more economically."

A severe critic of the Health Service, writing in a London newspaper in July 1950, stated: "The scheme is here to stay."¹ This critic admits that under the old system and without the new, "sudden serious illness could well be ruinous for the average middle-class family man today." He goes on to make this half-serious and half-humorous comment, "I am told that the average person dare not be ill in the United States, so high is the cost of doctoring."²

Underneath the widespread support given the National Health Service is a far-reaching social philosophy. Many visitors to Britain are not aware of this philosophy and yet it is a dynamic force beneath the whole movement. The Service is based on the belief that "health is the nation's greatest resource." It is more important than natural resources, more important even than education, for without health few other things seem to matter much. Since a sick person is not only unable to work but also requires the services of someone else, he is a double liability to a nation.

If education calls for a system of teachers, administrators, buildings, and equipment—all under government direction and paid for from taxation—then the question is asked in Britain, How much more important is it that the health of the people of a nation be treated in a similar

¹ *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, July 4, 1950.

² *Ibid.*

way?³ Without health, how can a people use its education? Without health, how can a nation build and maintain morale? The health of its people, it has been stated many times, is a nation's major asset in time of war with reference to defense, to morale, and to offense. Health is a leading resource in time of peace, also, as, for example, in industrial production. "Our national health program," said one English student of the system, "is already paying for itself in the decrease in the number of absentee days in industry due to regular or routine illness factors."

Before the National Health Service was adopted there were millions, it was reported, who "were barred from proper medical attention." There were millions with teeth so poor that they could not chew their food. There were hundreds of thousands without reading glasses who needed them badly. Many were trying to get along with a twenty-five-cent pair of glasses purchased at a department-store counter; others were wearing glasses which they had inherited from their parents. Mr. Leech, a columnist, writes that under "the old system" employed men got medical service, but that their families were not included. As a result, many mothers and numerous children "often did not receive medical attention until critically ill."⁴ One interviewee⁵ summed up the situation as follows: "Since private medicine has not risen to the need, the nation had to do it."

After returning from making a firsthand study of the current British system, Mr. Heyman, head of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, stated that "with financial barriers removed, many more people are going to doctors before they are seriously ill; medical service is being spread more widely into areas formerly poorly served, and medical research is better financed."⁶ Such a summary throws light on the far-reaching needs that were unmet before the Health Service went into effect.

During the interviewing procedure three main problems of the National Health Service stood out: (1) that the doctors are underpaid, (2) that the costs are too high, and (3) that the system was too comprehensive and imposed too suddenly. The doctors are remunerated on the capitation basis per year and have received much less for the same hours of service than the dentists, who are paid on the piecework basis. They have been overworked, partly because of the numbers of people who have sought medical care. They have numerous forms to fill out, in

³ From an interview with a middle-class citizen.

⁴ E. T. Leech, *Los Angeles Times*, Vol. LXVIII, Part 1, p. 28.

⁵ In Glasgow.

⁶ David M. Heyman in the *New York Times*.

fact, so many that an undue amount of time is required for this work. The "family doctor" is giving way to the specialist, especially in the hospitals, but this is a trend noticeable in the United States and elsewhere. The hospitals have not been able to care for all who need medical attention, partly because there are not enough nurses to care for all the patients that might occupy the hospital beds. Nevertheless, there are more capable applicants for training for the medical profession even now than there are facilities. Some of the doctors, especially the younger men, are favorable to the National Health Service. Soon after the Service went into effect some doctors were reported as saying that "the National Health Service was an excellent thing for the country and the people."⁷

The costs are high, much higher than anticipated by the advocates of the Service, and, despite some economies, they have been increasing. Moreover, the doctors are striving to obtain definite increases in their compensation rates. An advocate of the Service says: "It is expensive, but much of present costs were formerly paid by private patients, now by taxes."⁸ The shift from private fee payments to general tax payment has meant, it is claimed, a more equitable distribution of costs and a wider distribution of medical service. It is expected that the gains from preventive medicine and from reduction of lost time by illness "will more than make up the cost."⁹ It is too soon to make studies of the comparative distribution of costs and of comparative benefits derived from the old system and the new National Health Service.

Many times I heard the statement made in one way or another: "We are for it, but too much was undertaken too soon with not enough experience for putting so comprehensive a system into effect all at once. A slower procedure would have avoided some of the difficulties."¹⁰ The providing of free medicine, hospital service, dental care, optical services and glasses, drugs, food for babies, and so on, put a heavy strain on all who were administratively and professionally responsible. A good deal of the administration was given to local boards composed of citizens of the community, such as served on the draft boards and rationing boards during World War II in the United States. These people were willing but unversed in meeting the many requirements on their time and judgment.

⁷ From address by Dr. D. Stark Murray of London, *Scottish Cooperator*, No. 2616, p. 11.

⁸ Norman Burfit, labor adviser.

⁹ From interview with an unskilled workingman.

¹⁰ Interview with a physician.

The Labor party advocates, however, stated that "the widespread need was there and was gigantic, and why wait?" Another advocate urged that before appraisal is made: "Give us a little time and we'll straighten out the difficulties." It appears that some of the problems are being met; for example, the popular tendency to ask the doctors for prescriptions was reduced substantially when the rule was made last year that the applicant would have to pay a shilling for each prescription. Plans were under way last summer to increase the doctors' capitation fees, but the decision to spend large sums for the defense needs of the nation has delayed an adequate realization of these and some of the other needed adjustments. Moreover, it requires time for 10,000 voluntary workers—serving on regional hospital boards, on hospital management committees, and on local executive councils, many if not most for the first time—to measure up to all their responsibilities.

There are a number of other criticisms which are due partly to conditions over which the Health Service has little direct control, such as the universal weaknesses of human nature, and partly to lack of time in which to put so sweeping a plan into full and efficient operation.

The criticism that the National Health Service is compulsory is unfounded. No patient has to call on the Service, no patient has to take a doctor assigned to him, no patient is prevented from changing from one doctor to another. No doctor is compelled to come into the Health Service; a doctor does not keep a patient if he does not want to do so. No doctor has to give up any of his private patients. Of course, the inducements to the patient to come under the plan are substantial and the inducements to the younger doctor are also important.

A major objection of the doctors is not that the Service is compulsory and not necessarily that it is run by the Government, but to a leading democratic feature, namely, to the decisions of the local executive committees composed of volunteers in the respective communities. Many of these persons do not always appreciate the professional viewpoint of the physicians.

The degree to which health needs piled up through the years before the Service was established has placed a tremendous strain upon putting such comprehensive measures into operation. When this backlog of chronic illnesses and the novelty involved in the plan have experienced a normal decrease the Service may be expected to work better.

There are many reports of chiseling, but these evils are found in various aspects of life. To make a national law foolproof is difficult. To guard against graft in a program operated by the people generally

is never easy. Some of the stories of how individuals have taken advantage of the Health Service are interesting enough, but many of them have been exaggerated in the telling and generalized upon unduly.

Some people criticize the National Health Service because "it is free"; they believe that what is free is not appreciated and that it tends to pauperize. Its defenders reply that sickness is in a class by itself, that people do not seek illness, and that the pauperizing argument is unfounded. Others point out that the National Health Service is no more free than public education, or public recreation, or public highways, for these are all paid for by the people according to their ability to pay through taxation. In other words, it is contended that if the National Health Service is to be done away with because it is free, then we should do away with free public education, free public recreation, free public highways, and so forth.

The Service has a long way to go before it will function up to its possibilities as a preventive agency. Patients still think largely in terms of medicine instead of prevention, but headway is being made. In the past, people generally have not been stimulated but rather discouraged with reference to going to doctors for preventive purposes. Hence, some time will pass before they will take extensive advantage of the preventive possibilities of the Health Service. Only a few health centers have been established under the Service. When finances are available, the projected health centers will come into operation in cities and in the out-of-the-way localities as well. Then preventive work will come into its own.

No attempt will be made here to render a balance sheet. It is too soon to do so. Give the National Health Service ten years under fairly normal conditions and its strong and weak features can then be reviewed intelligently. Only the statement of sample facts bearing social implications has been attempted in this paper. A reporter has presented the pros and cons of what he heard and read on all sides of the issue as he encountered them, leaving the reader to formulate his own value judgments.

SOCIAL WELFARE

✓ **BUILDING YOUR MARRIAGE.** By Rex A. Skidmore and Anthony S. Cannon. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. xxii+650.

Books on courtship, marriage, and the family are being published at a rapid rate. The book by Skidmore and Cannon is the outgrowth of a course in marriage which the authors have conducted at the University of Utah. It is developed on the basis of questions asked (anonymously) by more than 4,000 students over a period of years. This is the most unique part of the book, although material is drawn from many fields which have contributed to well-adjusted married life.

Part One is devoted to the various phases of preparation for marriage, including dating, courtship, choosing a mate, engagement, when to marry, and the consideration of the influence of religion, biological and legal factors, parents and relatives as resources, and morality. This is followed by a section on the achievement of happiness in marriage, including the wedding and the honeymoon, building married love, the proper use of money, resolving conflicts, and avoiding divorce. The final part deals with children in the home, being successful parents, growing old gracefully, and using one's resources for strengthening family life.

The book is simply written and the answers to the questions are basically sound and helpful. Those who are familiar with sources used find little new data, but the selections are illustrative of the main findings of the main previous studies. Each chapter contains concise statements of "things to remember," questions for discussion, suggested activities and topics for reports, and selected readings. M.H.N.

NEW FORCES IN ASIA. Edited by Bruno Lasker. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1950, pp. 237.

This is a timely and useful addition to "The Reference Shelf." Thirty-six selections by various writers, many of them widely known, are grouped under the following division titles: The Unchanging East, China's Protracted Revolution, Japan between Feudalism and Democracy, The Twin Birth of India and Pakistan, Two American Godchildren: Korea and the Philippines, Birth Pangs in Southeast Asia, and Impact of the Occident. The range of subjects dealt with in the articles is obviously wide. The purpose is to inform the reader and give him an honest appraisal of trends in contemporary Asia. The book should be a boon for debaters and students of sociology, political science, and international relations. J.E.N.

V **INTERRACIAL HOUSING. A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment.** By Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1951, pp. xv+173.

This book represents a comparative study of biracial public housing projects in New York with interracial housing projects in Newark, New Jersey. The investigators studied the effects upon prejudice of "the establishment of publicly supported nonsegregated interracial housing projects." They believed that research should be so conducted that it would be "strategically useful in facilitating democratic social change." The investigations centered about three groups of people: (1) the policy makers, (2) the management, and (3) the tenants. Two occupancy patterns were examined, (1) the integrated interracial pattern and (2) the segregated biracial pattern.

Among the hypotheses adopted were these: (1) "The social norms in the segregated project will be less favorable to friendly interracial relations than the social norms in the interracial project." (2) The interracial aspects of the projects will stand out more saliently in the interracial type than in the segregated type. (3) The relations "among the white residents will be more friendly in the integrated than in the segregated biracial project." (4) "White tenants in the integrated projects will have less prejudices toward Negroes" than such tenants in the segregated projects. A total of 100 white and 25 Negro housewives were interviewed in each of the four projects under review.

Space does not permit a discussion of the findings, although a few sample conclusions will be given. It was found (1) that the experiences involved in the occupancy pattern were "stronger than the effects of such factors as education, religion, or political attitudes." (2) In terms of reducing prejudice and "of creating harmonious democratic intergroup relations," the integrated project produced considerable results, while the segregated resulted in slight gains if any. (3) The integrated project surpassed the segregated one in the cases of friendly, neighborly contacts between races, in the degree of friendly interracial atmosphere, in the more favorable attitudes that were developed toward Negroes, and in the "more favorable attitudes toward living in an interracial project." (4) The data seem to indicate that prejudice reflects "social traditions and social practices which have been accepted and internalized" more than a characteristic of "basic personality structure." The book makes a contribution of far-reaching significance to housing literature and to human relations.

E.S.B.

✓ **PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: VALUES IN CONFLICT.** By John Cuber and Robert A. Harper. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 496.

In revising this widely used text, the authors have overcome its chief shortcoming, namely, its small size. Six new areas have been added, including population, adolescence, social-psychological deviants, rural life, the city, and religion. Books on social problems are often criticized for lacking a central frame of reference and ending, consequently, as a hodgepodge of data. Cuber and Harper have organized the factual information on social problems around the key idea of Fuller, that social problems arise in a society because ends, objectives, or values fostered by various persons and groups run at cross-purposes.

Students will welcome the objective and factual presentation of seventeen social problems. In summary, the style is interesting, the visual aid materials meaningful, and the factual treatment adequate to make this revision a superior text.

E.C.M.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY. An Introduction to the Sociology of Work Relations. By Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. xi+896.

Generally speaking, this new text on Industrial Sociology is excellent. It is easily read, it has drawn its material from many sources, and it has attempted to squeeze the sociological juice from many industrial situations. Sometimes, however, the authors seem to have gotten within the factory walls to note what is going on there but in a sense have failed to note what forces without are training the rays that enter to influence and manipulate the beings within. The influence of such labor leaders as Lewis, Reuther, Dubinsky, Green, and others is unnoticed, and their names are not mentioned in the index of names. In emphasizing the work and management groups that are immediately concerned with some specific industrial plants, the larger forces affecting the whole situation are seemingly neglected. Only a short reference is made to the LMRA of 1947 and the role of government is given but little space. The critical decisions of the United States Supreme Court affecting labor and industry go unmentioned.

Most commendable are the chapters devoted to the discussions of the roles of workers and management, status in the work plant, and industry and the community. There are some good recordings of interviews, and the use of sociometrics to illustrate small group dynamics is well done.

At the beginning of the book is a very good rehearsal of some of the scientific experimentations that have taken place with reference to industry, and at the end may be found a glossary of terms, some of which are unusual in books on work relations. The mentioning of novels and plays in a bibliography is merited recognition of some good source material. For those about to enter the industrial world, the chapter on the transition from school to work may prove to be valuable. A more modest title for the book would have been *An Industrial Sociology*, since there seems to be bound within its covers, despite the abundance of excellent contributions, a faint suggestion that the situations described are on a local rather than a national scale.

M.J.V.

BRITISH COAL NATIONALIZED. By Gerhard W. Ditz. New Haven, Connecticut: The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1951, pp. 92.

The author has succeeded well in his purpose, namely, to present in succinct compass the changing situation regarding the nationalization of coal in Great Britain. He leaves the reader free to indulge in value judgments. The topics include the trend toward nationalization, the National Coal Board, the first three years under nationalization, and continuing problems. An organization chart and statistical tables are appended.

THE PATTERN OF AGE AT MARRIAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Thomas P. Monahan. Philadelphia: Stephenson Brothers, 1951, 2 volumes, pp. 451.

The pattern of age at marriage in the United States is the focus of this study. This investigation was originally made as a doctoral dissertation in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. While the principal purpose was to determine the long-term trend in the average age at marriage, the material likewise deals with the age of marriage in relation to nativity and race, education, occupation, and child marriages. It is more than a summation and appraisal of various studies, for it includes an analysis of published but hitherto unutilized data for a few sample states extending back fifty or a hundred years. The study reveals serious methodological deficiencies in previous studies, and the author takes exception to many statements on marriage age which have been widely quoted and regarded as authoritative conclusions. The fact that the citations alone cover one hundred pages is an indication of the scope of the study.

M.H.N.

ROADS TO AGREEMENT. By Stuart Chase. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. 250.

Stuart Chase has written another small book full of important ideas. He critically and constructively examines the latest studies on human interaction with special reference to small groups and group dynamics. Some of the promising methods discussed are the Quaker meeting, the Acheson-Lilienthal conference on atomic energy, labor participation in industrial relations, and the town meeting. All the important intergroup studies are given a synoptical review and interpretation. Two of the postulates of McGregor are worth repeating: "all human behavior is directed toward the satisfaction of needs" and "most human needs are satisfied through interaction with other people." The science of intergroup relations is making the commonplace concise after it has been tested by experimental methods.

Chase sums up five principles that can be utilized to reduce human conflict: participation, group energy, clearing communication lines, facts first, and the principle that agreement is much easier when people feel secure. Sociologists cannot afford to miss reading this book.

E.C.M.

A STUDY OF STATELESSNESS. Lake Success, New York: United Nations (Department of Social Affairs), 1949, pp. xiv+190.

Statelessness is as old as the concept of nationality, and ordinarily the state is the sole authority which may determine the rules governing the attribution of its own nationality. After the First World War statelessness gained such proportions that it must be solved as a problem of international and world organization. There were, before World War II, more than a million Russian and Armenian refugees, tens of thousands of Italian refugees, over 400,000 Spanish refugees. After the Second World War some 1,562,812 persons from fifteen countries required the protection and help of the IRO, and 1,280,912 needed protection only.

This monograph examines the problem as a humanitarian responsibility of the United Nations, so that these refugees, victims of political and economic changes in their former countries and now stateless, may have a chance at life and happiness. The first problem handled in the book is the improvement of the status of stateless persons. The second problem is the elimination of statelessness. Numerous appendixes of a documentary nature support the analysis and conclusions. J.E.N.

THE GREAT ALTERNATIVE. An Examination of Six Pressing Concerns in Today's World. By Charles A. Wells. With Illustrations by the Author. New York: Between the Lines Press, 1951, pp. 142.

In discussing the future of American capitalism in a world of increasing socialism, the author pleads that "change may come peacefully with the full preservation of freedom." He contends that "enlightened people will not permit a nation's resources to remain in the hands of a few for private exploitation if scarcity threatens and the common good is in jeopardy."

In considering race relations the point is made that "mankind is not white; mankind is colored." Shortsightedness in race relations is illustrated in a pre-World War II situation where "the same conservative business men that exerted pressure to prevent cooperation with the Christian elements of Japanese leadership went all out to help the Japanese military arm themselves (with oil, airplane motors, scrap iron) that they might drive the white man out of Asia." In treating labor relations, the blindness of management at times and the violence of labor on occasion are stressed. The effects of experience live long, for example, "having forged his organization through the days of brutality and ruthlessness in union pioneering, John L. and his kind have found it hard to alter methods and patterns of action." The author takes a realistic position and analyzes social problems within the framework of the teachings of Jesus and the religious doctrines of the Protestant church.

E.S.B.

LAW OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: The Laws of the Forty-eight States. By Frederick B. Sussmann. New York: Oceana Publications, 1950, pp. viii+96.

Law of Juvenile Delinquency is the twenty-second in a series of legal booklets published by Oceana Publications. It deals chiefly with the summary of the juvenile court laws of the forty-eight states, including the legal provisions of the juvenile court, its origin and development, jurisdiction, procedure and disposition of cases, staff, detention, and state participation. One chapter deals with the legal definitions of the terms *juvenile* and *delinquency* and includes a discussion of problems raised by these definitions. The booklet serves as a handy legal almanac, but it does not give enough details to be used as a complete source book of procedures.

M.H.N.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL POLICY. By Richard M. Titmuss. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company, 1950, pp. xii+596.

This volume is from a series of United Kingdom Civil Histories. It deals with selected subjects concerning the social history of the Second World War. The three leading topics are the evacuation of mothers and children, the work of the hospital services, and the social consequences of air attack.

The book is arranged in four parts: first, the expectation of war and the preparations made for it; second, the "invisible war," involving the evacuation, disorganization, and social services, hospitalization, and so on; third, the stresses and strains during actual battle; fourth, continued problems of evacuation, care of families, provision of hospitals for war victims and the sick, and other essential services.

It should be emphasized that in this realistic book one sees the social aspects of modern warfare, the day-to-day problems of community life while under air attack, the need for quick adaptability, planning and cooperation, courage and self-reliance. Those who may have great responsibility in any forthcoming war will benefit from a study of this report of British experience in the last war.

J.E.N.

STATE RECREATION: ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By Harold D. Meyer and Charles K. Brightbill. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1950, pp. xiii+282.

State recreation has grown in importance during recent years. Although considerable material has been published on community recreation and on the contribution of the federal government to recreation, little material is available on state programs of recreation. The resources of the state governments are important in the field of recreation. States like North Carolina, Vermont, and California have provided extensive services to community recreation and have recently developed state-wide systems of recreation administration. The development of legislative provision, administration, coordination, and financing of state systems of recreation is discussed in detail. Even though states may lack recreation commissions or other divisions of government set up exclusively for the purpose of planning, promoting, and supervising recreation, certain services are provided through other departments and agencies.

M.H.N.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST CHRISTMAS STORIES. Edited by Eric Posselt and illustrated by Fritz Kredel. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. 426.

Previous anthologies of Christmas stories were limited almost exclusively to those by American and English authors. Here, for the first time, the masterpieces of twenty-three different nations are brought together, each representative of the best produced by authors of the country. Thus, this collection of Christmas stories and songs is valuable in that many of them are relatively unknown in America. Furthermore, they give insights into the cultural heritages and settings of the different lands in which they originated. Five Nobel Prize winners and a few of the best-known American and English stories are included to make the collection truly representative of the best of American and European interpretations of the Christmas spirit.

The stories are classified by countries and each group is introduced by a Christmas carol or song most typical of the country from which the stories have come. The anthology could have been made still more valuable by descriptions of the cultural settings of the various groups of songs and stories.

M.H.N.

CREDIT FOR THE MILLIONS. By Richard Y. Giles. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. 208.

Giles in this book relates the courageous history of the credit union movement, its philosophy and methods of operation, and the impressive evidence of what voluntary, cooperative, and democratic action can do for several million Americans. He observes that cooperative enterprise succeeds best where it meets an unmet need; hence, in the credit, housing, and medical areas a real measure of success has been already attained by cooperative endeavor. Credit unions have served to reduce the interest rates charged by commercial lending agencies.

It may be something of a surprise to realize that credit unions stand third in the list of installment lenders, topped only by banks and small-loan companies. Giles is very critical of the government's tendency to freeze credit as a means of controlling inflation. Installment buying accounts for 40 per cent of automobile sales, 75 per cent of furniture sales, and 70 per cent of household appliance sales. This book indicates how the American people have regulated themselves cooperatively in the area of credit without additional laws or government controls.

E.C.M.

THE ATLANTIC PACT. By Halford Hoskins. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1949, pp. 104.

The provisions of the Atlantic Pact, of such vital concern today, are examined in terms of American and European trends in foreign policy. The limits of the defense area, the Soviet attitude toward the Pact, and various regional problems are considered. A discussion of problems of implementation of the Pact and its probable effect on the outlook for peace rounds out the survey. The value and helpfulness of the author's analysis are by no means indicated by the brevity of the book.

J.E.N.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: A Study in National Character. By Geoffrey Gorer. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948, pp. 246.

American traits are skillfully delineated in this book, though the chapter titles come close to being meaningless. The author points out by way of analogy that, just as the immigrant from Europe had rejected his fatherland and its government, so authority has become suspect in the relations between the child and his father in America, and between citizens and the government. The symbols of Uncle Sam and the Goddess of Liberty are both essential for representing American qualities. Whereas in old Europe the fatherland may be stressed, America is a motherland.

Early in life the American child is urged toward independence, activity, and initiative in order to escape being dubbed a "sissy." In the chapter "Love and Friendship" the feature is the institution of dating and double-dating, described as a game of self-assertion, an underlying purpose being to protect the individual from potential weaknesses or social misjudgments. The American personality is viewed as a commodity, a raw material. The engineer regards man as a part of the machine he operates. Apathy and passivity of American citizens constitute a great threat to American democracy, the people becoming more easily manipulated by would-be social engineers.

American attitudes toward things and toward people are unique. The American dominates his material. His object in life is to increase the

supply of things. Success in life is essential and is measured too much in dollars and in "keeping up with the Joneses." The assumption of equality as Americans is superficial and false, particularly when considering immigrants from foreign countries, Negroes, and other racial groups with long-standing claims to Americanism. There is also an international aspect of love and friendship to be observed in the American regard for other national groups in the search for recognition, understanding, and peace. There is much more, all enriched with details which will at times cause the reader to think the book is pointed toward himself. Humor and satire enliven the essay. It is decidedly worth reading.

J.E.N.

WE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Marguerite Ann Stewart. New York: The John Day Company, 1951, pp. 248.

In simple, straightforward style the author describes the early experiences of the various major immigrant groups who have come to the United States and who laid the foundations of the social, economic, and civic life of the nation. She begins with the Scandinavians, whose earliest representatives came in Leif Ericson's party, the first Spanish colonists and immigrants, Americans from England and Ireland, Negro Americans, Jewish Americans, Americans from Germany, Italy, and China.

In each chapter stories of the first immigrants are given in easy conversational and anecdotal form. Also, brief references to some of the leaders who have emerged from the respective groups are given recognition. Anyone, but especially young people in secondary schools who read the book, will find it interesting and will receive from it new impressions of the mixed ethnic composition of the present citizenry of the United States.

E.S.B.

MASKS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN NORTHEAST LIBERIA.

By George W. Harley. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1950, pp. 46, with 15 collotype figures.

This is a superior study of the function of masks in social control as objectified in Liberia. The mask is dealt with as a fetish and as a factor in sacrifices and rituals. Its use is associated with judges and lawgivers, police, messengers, war leaders, instructors, extortioners, dancers, minstrels, clowns, and others.

J.E.N.

THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS. By Albert Mousset. Translated by A. M. Lavenau. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1950, pp. 204.

This is an excellent survey and interpretation of pan-Slavism and of Russia's influence at different phases of the movement. During the nineteenth century Russia was considered to be the protector of the Slavs preaching pan-Slavism. The movement was a creation of the "intelligentsia"; it did not arise in official circles. Russia looked upon herself as having a divine mission—that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. Muscovite Slavism, however, differed from that of her neighbors not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure.

After the First World War a reaction against Russian influence is noted, with the resurgence of nationalism in the several Slav countries. During the Second World War Russia "liberated" the Slav countries from Nazi dominance, subjugating them to Soviet rule and Soviet exploitation. Old Slav individualism survives, and the significance of Titoism for the Slav countries is explained by the author.

Pan-Slavism was a prewar legend, became a reality during the Second World War, and was superseded by Marxist solidarity. The growing unrest in Europe, even within the ranks of the communist party organizations of several countries, indicates a need for re-examination of basic issues. For this purpose the author's scholarly interpretation of Slavic ambitions will offer timely aid. J.E.N.

SOME SEX BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN A NAVAHO COMMUNITY.

By Flora L. Bailey. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Vol. XL, No. 2, 1950, pp. 108.

This is Report No. 2 of the Ramah project, which anthropologists are watching with great interest. The Navaho beliefs and practices considered in this monograph are grouped about the subjects of puberty, menstruation, marriage, conception and contraception, pregnancy, childbirth, postnatal care of the infant, care of postparturient mother, unusual births, and aberrant practices. The development of each chapter is clear and logical. The work of the reporter yields to the language of the Navaho informants when preferable, though smoothness and continuity are maintained. Investigations of sex beliefs and deaths are known to be subject to unusual difficulties among the Navaho. This study has been handled in a commendably scientific manner. J.E.N.

MANDAN SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION. By Alfred W. Bowers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. xvi +407.

The Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe of the Northern Plains. In 1910 they numbered only 197, and it is well that the author has saved for posterity, and has interpreted, the significant traditions in Mandan social and ceremonial organization.

In Part One there is a presentation of the social organization, the kinship system, and the principal features of the Mandan life cycle from birth to death. In Part Two a dozen ceremonies and certain properties of ceremonies generally are examined in detail. Each ceremony is traced stage by stage, with graphic description of the participants, their preparation, costuming, behavior patterns, traditions, objectives, mythology, and so on.

The author and the publishers should be commended for the quality of this contribution to anthropology. J.E.N.

THE EPIC OF KOREA. By A. Wigfall Green. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 136.

The purpose of this timely monograph is to throw light on the issues at stake in war-torn Korea. The people and their mode of life are described sympathetically. They have been subjected to varying foreign influences and have been crying for freedom. The problems of occupation following the Second World War, the origin of the Korean government (U.S. style), the lack of national unity when the country was divided into North Korea and South Korea, the growing opposition of democrats and communists, the withdrawal of American forces in 1949, and other significant events and conditions are submitted as perspective for the Korean war which began June 25, 1950. J.E.N.

JUNGLE PATHFINDER. By Kathaleen Stevens Rukavina. New York: Exposition Press, 1950, pp. 299.

This is a biographical narrative of the role played by John Edward Stephenson in Africa as one of Cecil Rhodes' legendary scouts. The setting is in Lalaland in Northern Rhodesia. The data concerning the adventures and wives of Stephenson serve to integrate other material of ethnological value. As Chirupula, the Lala chief, Stephenson's dominating

character greatly influenced the natives with whom he identified his life in preference to being circumscribed by the attitudes of the British imperialists. This makes a story unique in the annals of Africa. The book may also be recommended for its sympathetic account of the customs and morals of Central African people. J.E.N.

IN HENRY'S BACKYARD. *The Races of Mankind*. By Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. New York: Henry Schuman, pp. 54.

The members of all the races have "green devils," namely, prejudice, stupidity, hate. In playful, comic-picture form this book shows how "Henry" got rid of his green devils.

SOCIAL THEORY

SYNTHETISCHE ANTHROPOLOGIE: Vorträge und Diskussionsberichte. Edited by Leopold von Wiese and Karl G. Specht. Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1950, pp. 192.

This volume contains the papers given at the September 1949 convention of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie (German Sociological Society). The title is somewhat misleading, for by the term *synthetic anthropology* the editors apparently imply the integration of the social sciences around given problems. The first part of the collection deals with the theme of the individual and the group (*Person und Kollektiv*) as viewed by a sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist, economist, jurist, and other social scientists. The article by W. E. Mühlmann is an appropriate example; he sees personality and the social environment as highly interrelated forces, but separable for purposes of abstraction. Although he surveys the relevant literature, he makes no mention of W. I. Thomas and George H. Mead, nor of such recent students as Kurt Lewin and Muzafer Sherif. This may be explained in part by a forced lack of communication due to the prohibitive expense of American books and journals in a dollar-hungry world.

The latter half of the book revolves around the social and cultural effects of the population increase during the nineteenth century. Some of the papers describe statistically certain social trends in the United States, Europe, and Asia during the last 150 years. With these papers one can find no serious disagreement; however, the final reports, which

present certain interpretations, make some dubious statements. Ilse Schwidetzky, for example, discusses the qualitative changes in the population and asserts that there has been a physical and mental retrogression in the human stock. She mentions that comparative human biology is a new science; certainly it will have to correct some of its naïveté if her remarks are typical.

In spite of its deficiencies, the collection leaves the impression that there is a certain degree of justified optimism in Germany regarding the future of social science. The eighteen months since the conference have brought further reports to the reviewer that a gradual awakening is taking place in that country.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

VERSUS: REFLECTIONS OF A SOCIOLOGIST. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. xvii+203.

THE PRODIGAL CENTURY. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. xvii+258.

From among his many short articles sociologist Fairchild has selected eleven for inclusion in the first of these two volumes, entitled *Versus*. This volume has been published as a tribute to Dr. Fairchild upon his retirement from the Graduate School of New York University by his former students, colleagues, and friends. Though each of the essays has appeared previously through the years from 1915 to 1937, and the events inspiring them have passed, they possess a central theme that has not been subject to alteration by the passing years. This theme is that the "devastating antithesis of life is found, not in the choice between Good and Evil, but in the perennially recurring and inescapable necessity of choosing between two goods or between two evils."

Eight of the essays have *versus* in their titles, and the first of the essays, entitled "You Can't Have Both," indicates the conflict theme of the volume. We can't have prosperity for all with a profits system nor constantly expanding population with peace for all. A choice must be made between guaranteed security and liberty, and the forces of hunger and love lead inevitably to struggle and finally to killing if left to themselves. Such are some of the dilemmas facing human beings and making for wholesale unhappiness.

In *The Prodigal Century*, which is revealed as the nineteenth, Fairchild is once again concerned with the opposition of forces. Great gifts

were held out to man in this century: vast land spaces, technological and scientific discoveries, and means for creating an economy of abundance. The gifts were abused, and the end of the century saw a record crop of waste and extravagance, spiritual decay, and the right to live decently denied to millions. Is it within the realm of possibility for man now to salvage anything of the gifts? Are plenty, peace, and freedom still attainable? Yes, but at a price, and one that may be bitter to pay.

Payment of this price entails the rejection of the reckless exploitative philosophy of the nineteenth century, the avoidance of flagrant waste of natural resources, the acceptance of some sort of common agreement as to what may be the ultimate meaning of human life, the employment of the physical and biological sciences for the maintenance of abundance, with an overhauling and development of the social sciences for the purpose of aiding society in discovering and achieving its objectives, and the substitution of cooperation for competition as the basis for a reorganization of life in its many aspects. If man really wants democratic abundance and social democracy, he may have them with sacrifices. *The Prodigal Century* is a stimulating book, but the paths that must be taken to achieve the objectives Fairchild has in view are filled with some pretty stiff barriers.

M.J.V.

OUT OF MY LATER YEARS. By Albert Einstein. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. viii+282.

This book contains sixty short statements from "addresses, articles, letters, appeals, and miscellaneous papers hitherto unpublished," and presents Einstein as a scientist, a philosopher, and a humanitarian. The excerpts are brief, disconnected generalizations, but they have the ring of sincerity and genuineness. All are dated during the last fifteen years. They are classified as: Convictions and Beliefs, Science, Science and Life, Personalities, and My People (the Jews).

A glimpse of the style and thought may be given from such statements as: "The bitter and the sweet come from the outside, the hard from within from one's own efforts" and "I live in that solitude which is painful in youth, but delicious in the years of maturity." Since the mental development of the individual and his way of forming concepts depend to a high degree upon language, we see "to what extent the same language means the same mentality." One could wish that Mr. Einstein had taken time off from his regular work to develop many of the thoughts expressed in this book and to fill in the chinks between these thoughts.

E.S.B.

PUBLIC OPINION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. A Study in Mass Persuasion.

By Alex Inkeles. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xx+379.

This authoritative study of mass persuasion is commendable in general as a contribution to the sociology of communication and in particular as a significant analysis of an aspect of Soviet Russia which has not been understood. The study deals with aspects of mass communication in modern society which concern all countries, especially the larger ones. In Soviet Russia the technique of mass communication operates as a part of a social system. Both Lenin and Stalin have recognized that the Soviet regime rests on a balance of coercion and persuasion.

The author first shows the relation of propaganda to the party, the masses, and the revolutionary process, and the function of agitation. The use of personal oral agitation has been developed to a fine point in Soviet Russia. Other mediums of indoctrination under complete control of the government and party are the press, the radio, and the cinema. Lenin and Stalin have regarded the role of the Soviet press to be that of a collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer, and the functions of radio and film are similar. Thus the minds and wills of the people are molded.

Discussion of issues must be kept within "safe" bounds. Self-criticism is boasted of as a feature within the government, within the party, and among the masses, but is kept subject to rules and limitations quite at variance with our understanding of criticism. For the most part, criticism operates from the top downward. Criticism from below is nominal. Criticism is supposed to be a weapon by means of which the party may keep the vast bureaucracy under control. No criticism is permitted which might destroy the basic "unity" of the party. Obviously, the objective of mass persuasion is to insure regimentation through all available means of communication.

In this superior study it is revealed how the Soviet Russian system has mastered various techniques of control. Since the system serves to promote the "social" goals of party, state, and nation which are rooted in values that are false and amoral, it becomes clear why the entire complex mechanism of communication is ruthlessly pressed into service.

Dr. Inkeles' study is the first in a series of Russian Research Center Studies which should prove invaluable for students of sociology, political science, psychology, and government.

J.E.N.

CONSCIOUSNESS AND BEHAVIOR. By James T. Culbertson. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1950, pp. vii+210.

This book is a formal presentation of the nerve net theory of behavior and of consciousness. Dr. Culbertson points out that the gestalt psychologists have been guided by the idea that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, and that this has led them to problems which they claim have no elementalistic solution. Conversely, the point of view of this analysis contains the preconception that elementalistic solutions to whole or pattern problems are always possible. With this preconception Part I is developed as a purely mechanistic theory concerned with neural activity, inasmuch as bodily movements may be explained by this activity. The method used in Part I consists of introducing simplifying hypotheses—concerning the conduction of nerve impulses—which make logical analysis possible. Hypothetical nerve net systems are then constructed to satisfy properties of spatial and temporal integration necessary for specific behavior. These systems or nets may be modified so as to approximate more realistic neurophysiological data.

Part II of the book presents a theory of consciousness. Subjective or sense data are shown to be derivable from the conjunctive and disjunctive structures of the nervous system. Qualitative differences are explained by the interaction of logically different classes of neural transmissions. This work, throughout, tends to integrate two originally distinct types of scientific thought, namely, the cybernetic or communication theory of Norbert Wiener and the biophysical thought of the University of Chicago. The social significance of these trends lies in their effects on future societal conditions and on social theory itself.

PAUL H. FISCHER

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF MINORITIES. Lake Success, New York: United Nations (Commission on Human Rights), Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1950, pp. 51.

This United Nations document defines the concept of "minority" as other essentially related concepts, such as community, society, nation, the state in various connotations, and citizenship. Minorities are then classified according to eight criteria—from a quantitative viewpoint, according to contiguity, citizenship, national characteristics, and others. An extensive selected bibliography constitutes the second half of the memorandum.

J.E.N.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By Edwin M. Lemert. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951, pp. 459.

A sincere effort has been made to present seven "pathologies" from the point of view of a systematic theory. The central idea in this work may be concisely stated as "sociopathic phenomena simply become differentiated behavior which at a given time and place is socially disapproved. . ." Seven postulates are presented to give meaning to the central theory and few sociologists will find these difficult to accept. For instance, "there are societal reactions to deviations ranging from strong approval through indifference to strong disapproval."

Approximately 350 pages are devoted to a discussion of the following pathologies: blindness, speech defects, radicalism, prostitution, crime, drunkenness, and mental disorders. For the most part, these topics have been discussed with clarity and scholarly caution. It is not entirely the author's fault that considerable interpolation of conflicting theories and findings has resulted. However, the author has perhaps drawn too often from his own experiences and observations with deviants. Personal experiences, though interesting, detract from an otherwise systematic presentation of social pathology.

This book will be an aid in the social problems and social disorganization courses. As research materials are made available perhaps the author can expand the number of pathologies discussed when the text is revised. If the word *deviation* is substituted for *pathology* a clearer understanding of the thesis of the book is conveyed. E.C.M.

COOPERATION AMONG ANIMALS. With Human Implications. A Revised and Amplified Edition of *The Social Life of Animals*. By W. C. Allee. New York: Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. 233.

A great deal of new material has been introduced into this edition of a book well known for its emphasis on the basic role of "cooperation" in the evolution of animal life. Emphasis is placed not only on the ways that living in groups is a survival procedure but also upon evidence that indicates that too large groups are a serious handicap for group survival. The author concludes that "widely dispersed knowledge concerning the important role of basic cooperative processes among living beings may lead to the acceptance of cooperation as a guiding principle both in social theory and as a basis for human behavior." It is predicted that "such a development when it occurs will alter the course of human history." E.S.B.

YOUR RUGGED CONSTITUTION. By Bruce and Esther Findlay. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1950, pp. 281.

The Constitution of the United States is analyzed, clause by clause, to show what we, as a people, give to those who constitute the government, and what we get in return. It is shown that the Constitution is so designed that, for any form of authority given, some value is received; for any form of responsibility given to any part of the government, some protection or service is received. The method of analysis, the forms of illustration used, and the design of the book make the analysis startling, clear, and inviting. No matter what other studies one may have made of the Constitution and its principles, this book will be refreshing and should arouse a new respect for what the authors call "America's House of Freedom." Some of the trends in American politics and government obviously clash with fundamental constitutional principles which are so simply stated in this volume that the youth in the land may understand them.

J.E.N.

SOCIOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION. By Joseph S. Roucek and Roland L. Warren. Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1951, pp.xi +275.

This handbook contains an incisive review of basic concepts, principles, and materials of sociology designed to give the beginning student in sociology an overview of the field. The selected bibliography of introductory texts and a reading guide to them, given at the beginning, serve as sources of concrete supplementary materials to be used in the course. The major portion of the book is devoted to the "essentials of sociology," including brief discussions of culture, personality, social processes, social groups, crowd behavior, communication, social status systems, population, rural and urban communities, institutions, social problems, social control, and social change. Several chapters deal with the study of sociology, the fields of special interest, brief descriptions of fifteen leading theorists who influence contemporary sociology, professional opportunities for majors in sociology and social work, and a glossary of selected sociological terms. There is nothing strikingly new in the handbook, but the field of sociology is covered fairly completely, though only one or at most a few paragraphs may be devoted to an important topic.

M.H.N.

ELEMENTS DE SOCIOLOGIE: Vol. I, *Sociologie Politique*. Second Edition. By Georges Davy. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1950, pp. 233.

This book, which is apparently the first part of a series of basic sociological works, is devoted to political sociology, or what might more appropriately have been called political philosophy. The author, who is dean of the faculty of letters at the University of Paris, has as his primary purpose an investigation of political sovereignty.

The first part of the text is occupied with historical theories of sovereignty, largely revolving around Rousseau. This is followed by an examination of contemporary theories, including such writers as Hauriou, Esmein, and Duguit, all of whom corrected many of the excesses of Rousseau.

An anthropological study of the state dominates the second part of the book. The author traces the development of sovereignty in various societies, such as the Iroquois, Omaha, Kwakiutl, and certain African tribes. The interrelationship of totem, kinship, and property rights is considered to be of more explanatory value than military conquest in accounting for the origin of governmental institutions, a theory much in contrast to some of the earlier ones. From this point he proceeds to the concept of nationalism and the role of the various agents that have played a part in its development, namely, race, language, and "group experiences." It was this discussion that seemed especially dated, offering little, if any, more recent documentation than Taine or Renan.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

THE NATURE OF PERSONALITY: SELECTED PAPERS. By Gordon W. Allport. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950, pp. vii+220.

In this republication of eleven papers in book form the author has solved the problem of reprints of articles desired by students and colleagues. Most of these papers have been written since the author's book on *Personality* was published in 1937 and hence constitute a supplement to that volume. They include discussions of attitudes, motives and motivation, the ego, personalistic psychology, the psychology of participation. In the Preface the author makes the interesting observation: "All things considered, the concept of *attitude* remains central to the field of social psychology."

E.S.B.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION. By Jerome Davis. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. xx+259.

As a setting for the volume, freedom and liberty are defined as American ideals, while, on the other hand, prejudice, hysteria, and murder are considered as social factors which interpret character assassination. To point up his thesis, there is a discussion of the "smearing" of our presidents, among them George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Group assassination is discussed in connection with labor, the Jews, the Negro, and other minority groups—all considered as victims of scapegoating. It is shown how various religious organizations and political and educational institutions have also been harmed by scapegoating. The book is startling in its revelation of these sinister tendencies of American life. Will it be possible for us to recover the freedoms once regarded as essentially American?

J.E.N.

PSYCHIATRY FOR SOCIAL WORKERS. Second Edition. By Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. xii+385.

Those readers who are familiar with Dr. Lowrey's first edition of *Psychiatry for Social Workers* readily recognize considerable infusion of new material in the present edition (psychosomatic conditions in relation to neuroses; utilization of mental and emotional test results in evaluating personality disorders and social maladjustments; the role of the social worker in the treatment of neurotic persons). The author says that he attempts to bring the specific clinical data—the hard facts which form the core of psychiatric problems—into relationship with social work in many of its settings. He succeeds admirably in this aim and has produced a very readable, objective, and highly informative volume. He does assume, however, and at times without sufficient justification, that his readers are thoroughly familiar with at least the data of social psychiatry.

Dr. Lowrey lays greater stress in the second edition than he did in the first on environmental factors and social relations in the development of personality difficulties and social maladjustment, in mental illness and emotional imbalance. For these reasons the reader would greatly profit by a course in sociology and psychology also.

The reader is clearly oriented to those psychiatric conditions which are not amenable to treatment, to those which can be treated medically

or surgically, and to those which can profit by a supportive type of social therapy, administered in a group setting or on an individual basis. Throughout the volume Dr. Lowrey shows concern with helping the social worker to understand those cases which call for expert advice, those which need commitment, and those which can be safely supervised by a social work agency.

An excellent index and a useful selected bibliography are included. The volume lends itself well to textbook purposes, it can serve as a reference volume for the informed administrator, and it can be of value to the general case worker who has read some text in psychiatry and psychotherapy.

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION. A Revision of Community Backgrounds. Second Edition. By Lloyd A. Cook and Elaine F. Cook. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, pp. xii+514.

The second edition of this book, published twelve years after the first, is more of a case book than the first; that is, it gives "a problems approach to social education." Like the first edition, it is built around the community as a social institution and is replete with procedures for studying the community. A new emphasis is given to "a more systematic theory of our change from primary to secondary ways of living with the apparently inevitable problems of transition, cultural lags, and value conflicts." The presentation of teaching procedures is the strong point of this edition. Additional strength could be given by the development of more sociological theory and more conceptualization. E.S.B.

ANCIENT HISTORY. From Prehistoric Times to the Death of Justinian. By Charles A. Robinson, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951, pp. xxiii+738.

The volume is testimony to two important emphases in the study of history: the connecting of history with anthropology and archaeology and showing the role of culture patterns in the lives of people. In this treatise prehistory moves smoothly into history and cultural anthropology into descriptions of the social and intellectual development of peoples. Social history is coming to the fore, even the social history of ancient times, and, as such, it affords the sociologist an important frame of reference for down-to-the-earth examination and criticism of sociological theories.

THE ENVELOPE: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF THE WORLD UPON THE CHILD. By James S. Plant, M.D. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950, pp. 299.

The volume was virtually completed before Dr. Plant's sudden and untimely death in September of 1947. Like his earlier volume, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*, the present one is based on his work as Director of the Essex County Juvenile Court. With uncommon sympathy and consistent logical thinking Dr. Plant discusses the social factors, pressures, and interpersonal relations which surround the child and envelop his very existence. The environmental pressures represent the keynote of the author's writings. He examines the envelope in various ways and analyzes its impact upon the child's mind, emotions, bodily functions, his outlook and reactions, his role in various groups, and the prospects of self-development, integrity, and resourcefulness. Therapy is viewed by Dr. Plant in terms of manipulating social forces and stresses which impinge upon the child. He re-emphasizes his earlier viewpoint that psychiatrists need to come to grips with the social milieu which creates problems for the child.

The publishers state in a brief foreword that there had not been time for the editorial give-and-take which might have elicited Dr. Plant's final thinking on the manuscript. Although there are evidences of such a lack, particularly in the latter part of the book, the volume is nevertheless a brilliant piece of work and a psychiatrist's challenge to psychiatry.

SOCIAL CHANGE WITH RESPECT TO CULTURE AND ORIGINAL NATURE. By William Fielding Ogburn. New York: The Viking Press, 1950, pp. 393.

It is good to know that this work, which has been out of print for several years, is again available. Besides reprinting the original essay, which has become virtually a classic in sociology, a new chapter has been added. For those who may wish to have a brief statement of the leading topics, there is a discussion of the following: the social heritage and the original nature of man, social evolution, cultural inertia and conservatism, social maladjustments (with the author's theory of cultural lag), and adjustment between human nature and culture. The new chapter offers a reconsideration of social evolution, brings the subject up to date, and rounds out the essay in an integrated manner.

J.E.N.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY. By Don Martindale and Elis D. Monachesi. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. xi+724.

The first two parts of this book deal with the nature, scope, and methods of sociology, and with the contributions of other sciences to sociology. The third, fourth, and fifth parts offer an analysis of society, social persons, and institutions, respectively. The concluding part analyzes social change, social problems, and social planning. One appendix indicates "some of the devices found useful for the more accurate recording and codification of empirical societal data." Another appendix justly emphasizes the importance of the experimental design which was devised and developed by Professor F. Stuart Chapin and which aims "to approximate in the field of social phenomena the rigor of the experiment in nonsocial fields."

The authors modestly use the term *elements* in the title, although they would have been justified in substituting *foundations*, for the book gives a thoroughgoing, scholarly, and stimulating grouping of foundation materials. They suggest that the teacher who uses this text in a class of beginning students in sociology may wish to begin with Part V on institutions and Part VI on social change and social problems, because these deal "with data and concepts which are closer to the life experiences of students." The book has a commendable freshness of treatment of basic data; it also points the student in the direction of sociological analysis and of sound sociological research. E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

ROUND THE BEND. A Novel by Nevil Shute. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1951, pp. 341.

Nevil Shute has given his reading public a handsomely conceived social philosophical novel carrying within it a message of the beneficence of spiritual gifts. *Round the Bend* has two heroes, the Englishman Tom Cutter and his friend Connie Shaklin, part Asiatic, part Russian. As teen-agers, they first met each other on a circus field in southern England, where they served as a stunt pair for what few pence they might pick up during the vacation months. By the end of the fourth summer they had become not only steadfast chums but also, during the winter months, enthusiastic helpers in an aircraft industrial plant. Tom finally accepted a job with Airservice, Ltd., overhauling and repairing airplanes, but Connie had to leave for California to see his recently widowed mother.

All during the war years Tom worked diligently repairing crashed aircraft and in 1943 was sent to the company plant in Egypt. At the war's end Tom, more in love with aircraft than ever, decided to go into the air transport business around the Persian Gulf country. On a business flight into Java he ran into Connie Shaklin. Thirteen years had passed, but the same friendliness prevailed even though Connie was now known as Shak Lin. Asked by Tom how he had happened to leave America, Connie replied that he had always wanted to know more about the great Lord Gautama and his Four Noble Truths. Tom persuaded him to accept a position in the air transport, and after that the story becomes the tale of Shak Lin, the aircraft engineer who put God into business.

At Bahrein, the main headquarters of Tom's business, Shak Lin began to attract much attention from the natives, who listened willingly to his talks about serving God through right thinking and right working. Shak Lin's fame as a new prophet spread wherever Tom's airtrucks carried on business, and the business itself thrived in a most unusual manner. When the British began to fear that the natives might be upset by the new preachments, Tom had to place him in Bali, the only place that seemed ready to offer a refuge for Shak Lin. As he came to be more and more of an ascetic, his health began to fail, but by that time his spiritual teachings were known to such an extent that pilgrims from far and wide came to his simple dwelling. At his death, his followers erected a shrine to perpetuate his deeds and words. Tom, reflecting later upon all this, concluded that instead of selling out his business "it would be a better thing to carry on. . . and run it in the way that Connie liked, so that in a materialistic world my airline should be an example running through Asia to show that men can keep the aircraft safe by serving God in Connie's way. . ." and that "only by serving God in this way can you keep out of the red." If there is a moral in all this, it would seem to be that the world at present needs more of the spiritual investment of a Shak Lin than of any material rearmament.

M.J.V.

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3518 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
LOS ANGELES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ARTS

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

540 EAST 58TH STREET

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

TEL: 773-936-5000

FAX: 773-936-5001

WWW.CHICAGOEDU.EDU

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